OUR FUTURE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

A SYMPOSIUM: *Gov. Leverett Saltonstall, Rep. Sol Bloom, Sen. James E. Murray, George F. Addes, Gardner Cowles Jr., Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Wm. Rose Benet, etc.*

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NEW MASSES

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OUTLOOK FOR SOVIET-AMERICAN TRADE

An industrialist foresees a big market for our durable goods. By A. M. HAMILTON

THE RED ARMY'S FIGHTING ANCESTORS

by CAPT. SERGEI M. KOURNAKOFF

PLOT TO STEAL AN ELECTION

by VIRGINIA GARDNER

MR. WARREN GOES TO CHICAGO

by DOLPH M. WINEBRENNER

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

WITH this issue, we bring our drive for funds to a close—in the magazine. Which means that it will, perforce, continue, but not in these pages. We had hoped, as you know, to reach $28,000 through the printed appeal; and to raise an additional $12,000 during the course of the year outside these pages. We did not reach our goal of $28,000; in fact, we are $3,850 short of the mark. Which means that we shall have to raise about $16,000 more to see the year through.

Well, these are the tribulations we had hoped to avoid this fateful year. But it didn't work out that way. Still, we haven't lost hope: we never will. It simply means that we shall have to work that much harder to raise the wherewithal to keep the magazine afloat, to continue the editorial projects we have begun, and to get new ones started.

We know, however, that you realize this: though the appeals will not appear each week, as they have since the beginning of the year, the magazine continues in need of funds. We know you will keep this in mind these summer months, and that you will run affairs to aid your magazine. A number of readers have written us pledging such activities regularly, throughout the year. They know that ultimately, our only capital is your good will, your desire to promote the ideas and campaigns with which NEW MASSES deals.

We have a number of projects on the fire; we shall apprise you of them as we go along. Projects which deal with the fateful events of our times—the reelection of Roosevelt, the formation of so powerful a coalition around his win-the-war and win-the-peace policies that it can never be broken. Projects that seek to hammer out approaches to the economy of abundance. Projects to help those who seek to remove the menace of war for many generations.

We will need your support to get out a magazine that can be as hard-hitting as history demands. And we shall not hesitate to call upon you. We know that is the way you want it. A magazine is as strong as its readers, and it is your strength that gives this publication whatever merit it possesses.

WE PROMISED that we'd tell you more about Meridel Le Sueur, one of NM's writers, who was recently elected an alternate to the national committee of the Communist Political Association. First she's a grass roots girl—always has been, as those of you who have followed her short stories and reportage in the magazine well know. For years she has been writing about the farmers and small town folk who are the living Middle West—the women who have given their sons and husbands to the present war whose meaning they fully realize; the older men who have stayed at home to tend the farms, to produce food for a nation in its greatest crisis. For a long time Miss Le Sueur has been bringing them close to us—for longer, she has been close to them. A few years ago a volume of her short stories appeared, *Salute to Spring*. Her new book, out this summer (Duell, Sloane, & Pearce), is *North Star Country*. Part of the American Folkway Series edited by Erskine Caldwell, it is a history of the American Northwest for the past 100 years, showing the effect of that period upon the lives and culture of the people of Minnesota and Wisconsin.

Miss Le Sueur was born in Iowa and has always lived in the Middle West. Her family, before her, is a part of the best tradition of the corn and wheat country. Her mother and stepfather are at present both very active in the Democrat-Farmer-Labor Party, recently formed in Minnesota from the merger of the old Farmer-Labor and Democratic Parties, and she herself has been state chairman of the Communist Party for the past year. We feel that her election to the national committee of the new Communist Association signifies the spirit Joe North emphasized so clearly in his recent piece, "From a Convention Notebook"—that the Communists represent America in sharp focus and in essence, from one end of the country to the other. We can think of no better example than Meridel Le Sueur.

RECENTLY a meeting was held in Philadelphia, under the auspices of NM. Speakers included Gilbert J. Huber of the Committee for Economic Development, Robert Heckert, Commentator, KYW, Jessica Phine, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, representative to the War Labor Board, E. Washington Rhodes, a Negro, publisher of the Philadelphia *Tribune*, and our foreign editor, John Stuart. A letter written to John Stuart by a Philadelphian who attended the meeting describes it better than we could:

"I wish I could tell you how enlightening I felt the discussion was at last night's meeting. It was good to see all shades of thinking on the part of progressive, forward-looking people, as expressed from the platform by those ranging all the way from a prominent business man and other leaders of the community, to a NEW MASSES editor. I was especially impressed by the emphasis you gave, in your part of the program, to the fact that we don't all have to have the same political affiliations to work together for the same goal—a decent postwar world in the light of the Teheran aims. I like the idea of NEW MASSES running such meetings—I think they would be valuable factors in community-unity throughout the country." We wish readers and friends of the magazine in other cities would give this a thought. And we'd like to hear from you about the idea.

LATEST addition to our very junior staff is Jonathan Fenn Weil, aged approximately five weeks. His mother is Barbara Giles, who has been on leave from NM for the last several months. At first reports, he weighed seven pounds, and everybody was healthy.

M. DE A.

NEW MASSES
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OUR FUTURE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA Rep. Sol. Bloom, George F. Addes, Frank Marshall Davis, Sen. James E. Murray, Gardner Cowles, Jr., Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Frank X. Martel, Rev. John H. Melish, William Rose Benet, Bishop Arthur W. Moulton, Rockwell Kent, W. Horsley Gantt, Joachim Joesten, Bela Lugosi, Reid Robinson, Dirk J. Struik . . . . .
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NEW MASSES

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OUR FUTURE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

A Symposium

This week many millions of Americans will do honor to our Soviet ally. For it is three years ago this June 22 that the tormentors of the human spirit found their first formidable barrier in their campaign to annihilate it. At a moment when it appeared that civilization would be crushed by the barbarians, our Soviet friends stood them off and thrust them back while we prepared to join the battle.

And now the climactic struggle has come. It rages on the Karelian Isthmus and thunders on the Normandy beachheads. Each Allied blow spells the enemy's doom and heralds our victory. Americans have these past three years profoundly admired the great military skill of the Red forces and when, last week, Marshal Stalin said that the Allied invasion of France was a brilliant feat unprecedented in the history of wars, the whole country could be proud of the heartfelt compliment paid us by the Soviet leader. Thus a friendship that has been maturing these many months between both our countries is now being sealed by the blood of our sons on the battlefield.

Teheran is the political symbol of this expanding collaboration. For Teheran means that by working together we can find the answers to the problems of the present and the future and thereby best serve our national interests. The development of a solid friendship between the Unitd States and the Soviet Union will also make easier the unravelling of all those knotty trade and industrial difficulties upon which our postwar prosperity rests. That is clear from the article by Mr. Hamilton, a businessman, on page 7. It is also clear from the symposium which appears below that we can have full confidence in the USSR to abide by its agreements and contribute its full measure of strength and wealth in building an orderly world. Writing in reply to the question "What do you think will be the role of the Soviet Union in creating a stable, peaceful, and democratic postwar world?" the contributors to the symposium are not only representative of a very broad cross-section of American opinion but also of the forces for national unity without which our foreign policy would be diluted, if not destroyed by its foes.—The Editors.

Rep. Sol Bloom

Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs

THE third anniversary of Germany's unprovoked attack upon Soviet Russia marks the triumph of the Russian people in smashing the most formidable evil power the world has ever seen. It is a triumph for human freedom everywhere. Every blow struck by the Soviet Union has been a blow in behalf of humanity throughout the world. That fact alone justifies our faith in the cooperation of the Soviet Union in riveting universal peace by destroying aggressors and the means of aggression.

Some Americans seem to fear that Soviet Russia will not stop with victory over Germany, but will begin a career of imperialism and aggression on her own account, either under the cloak of Communism or under no disguise at all. From all that I have been able to see, hear, and learn, these fears are utterly groundless. We can apply two tests in forming an estimate of the future course of the Soviet Union. First, by what she does; and second, by what she says. By the first test we know that she has fought the good fight and won her own freedom, discarded the Third International, and cooperated fully and faithfully with the United Nations.

By the second test we have found that if any man has made his word good it is Premier Stalin. He has fulfilled every promise. When he says he favors a free and stable Poland I believe him.

"Corner of the Kremlin," by A. Kravchenko.

When he says he will not stop until German mass murderers are caught and punished I believe him. When he says the Soviet Union stands for cooperation with other free nations for world peace and democracy I believe him.

All honor to the Soviet Union and the gallant Russian nation!

George F. Addes

International Secretary-Treasurer, United Automobile Workers of America-CIO

NOT being given to prediction, I am not disposed to prophesy respecting the role of the Soviet Union in the postwar world. But I can say that if the unity which has already been achieved between the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union is broadly expanded and fully implemented, in my opinion the role of the Soviet Union, as well as that of the United States and Great Britain in creating a stable, peaceful, and democratic postwar world, will require:

1. The eradication of the remnants of fascism and the establishment of safeguards against its resurrection by the application of vigorous and thorough measures for the elimination of its leaders, agents, and hirelings and the uprooting and destruction of all fascist institutions.

2. The careful and controlled application of those measures which will contribute to the establishment of free and democratic institutions in the fascist and semi-fascist nations of Europe, and of governments which will represent the uncoerced will of the peoples of those countries.

3. The development of trade throughout the entire world and on an unprecedented scale, and the encouragement of sound and friendly relations to make such trade possible and mutually beneficial to the peoples of all countries.

4. The most intimate collaboration between the peoples, the labor movements, and the governments of the United Nations, and particularly the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union in all phases of social and cultural relations, with free, personal, and sympathetic contacts and interchange of ideas making for the development of mutual respect, confidence, and friendship.

Frank Marshall Davis

Executive Editor, the Associated Negro Press

SINCE World War I, the key to world diplomacy has been the Soviet Union. Actions of the other great powers have been motivated by fear of the socialistic experiment. Efforts to isolate the Reds resulted in political and eco-

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nomic maneuvering which gave rise to the fascism of Mussolini and Hitler. The globe has witnessed the sorry spectacle of unchallenged Japanese aggression in China, the rape of Ethiopia, the Spanish civil war, and eventually Munich as the leaders of our nations shook with palsy at the fear of Bolshevism. In return, we have reaped our present war with its death and destruction.

Since the attack by Hitler on the Soviet Union, those nations who call themselves the democracies have had to do an about face. Slowly but surely, there has been rising a strong new feeling and respect for the Russian people among the masses. The once dirty Reds who were chased from the back door have now been elevated almost to the status of parlor guests. I say "almost" for there are still powerful and vigorous forces in the United Nations that are working harder to crush Stalin than to whip Hitler.

But these anti-Red forces do not represent either a majority or an official sentiment. The official attitude today is one of cooperation instead of hostility. So long as this feeling prevails among the rest of the United Nations, there can be peace. The Soviet Union has more than expressed its willingness to cooperate with the rest of the world and has even voluntarily made advances aiming at genuine friendship.

On whether America, Great Britain, and the other leaders accept the USSR on a basis of full equality, or allow their reactionary elements to regain the ascendancy and split up the coalition, depends the future peace of the entire world. The former spells stability and paves the way for global democracy; the latter means a return to bitter national rivalry, secret diplomacy, and military alliances with each powerful country maneuvering to dominate the rest of the world.

The Soviet Union is still the key to universal peace; she prefers collaboration, but is strong enough and great enough to take the necessary defensive steps if the rest of the world moves against her as it did from the Versailles treaty on to the Nazi invasion.

Sen. James E. Murray

Montana

THE role of the Soviet Union in creating a stable, peaceful, and democratic postwar world will be commensurate with her contribution to making it possible to have such a world. Without the tremendous sacrifices she has made and crushing defeats she has administered to our common enemies, the chances of establishing a world order of peace and freedom would have been impossible. If the Russian people had failed to withstand the onslaughts of Hitler's forces while we and England were still unprepared and needed time to train our troops and build our defenses, it might have spelled the doom of democratic government.

I am confident that the Soviet Union is sincere in her claim that she seeks no benefits at the expense of her neighbors. The Russian people have always distinguished themselves by their lofty humanism. The great Russian writers—Tolstoy, Gorky, Lenin, and the many others—were always heard in defense of the persecuted and have always fought for the brotherhood of man. Since gaining their freedom in 1917 they have toiled to translate into reality the dreams of those great minds of their country.

But this is a world of give and take. If we expect the wholehearted cooperation of the Russian people in making a repetition of the present catastrophe impossible in the future, the democratic world will have to cooperate in a spirit of fair dealing with Russia. I am sure that the American people will set aside all racial and national prejudices and work harmoniously with the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union after the war as we are today cooperating with them in the struggle against the brutal aggressors.

Gardner Cowles, Jr.

President, The Register and Tribune Company, Des Moines, Iowa

RUSSIA'S role in creating a stable, peaceful, and democratic postwar world can be as affirmative and as effective as she chooses to make it—for she will emerge from this war with tremendous military strength, vast human resources (despite unparalleled casualties), matchless natural resources, incredibly advanced and still mounting industrialization, extraordinarily widespread popular interest in world politics, and a geographical location comparable in strategic advantage almost to our position between two oceans. The Soviet Union will be able to do to or for a program of world organization about what it wishes. That may reasonably depend largely upon the degree of assurance which her allies give Russia as to their own determination to organize a peaceful, stable, and democratic world.

Russia will bring to the conference a new and intense nationalism, backed by a national spirit of self-confidence and faith in Russian destiny born of victory after deep wounds. She will want what we want—security and peace—to permit her to resume her development interrupted by war. She will bring to the peace table an understanding of the modern world of which she is a part. That is, she will come acutely conscious that even she cannot isolate herself from the world and continue to progress. She will come no longer as the evangelizing exponent of pure Communism, knowing that survival and development of the Soviet Union no longer depend upon world revolution—that more certainly in peace than in war, she can live in harmony within a democratic world. Democracy will not restrain Russia from cooperation with a world of peace and stability.

If these factors of Soviet character and attitude do not become constructive ingredients in the formula for a better world, it will be because we, or Britain, or both, fail to persuade Russia that *we* will do our part, play our proper roles, to bring realization of that attainable goal.

Family Portraits, by K. Rotov

"All my children are pilots, snipers, army doctors . . ."
"Are these their portraits?"
"No—their husbands' portraits."

From "Crocodil."

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise

Free Synagogue, New York

IN ANSWER to the query of NEW MASSES as to what would be the role of the Soviet Union in creating a stable, peaceful, and democratic world, I wish to register my conviction that it may indeed become the role of the Soviet Union to be a factor in achieving a stable and democratic postwar world, as it has been significant in halting the ravages of Nazism upon Europe.

Though not of those who believe that three or four great Powers are to rule the world, by virtue of their strength and the unmeasured contribution to the overcoming of fascism and the strengthening of the democratic world, the Soviet Union may in good faith be expected to make a momentous contribution toward the creating of what you call a stable, peaceful, and democratic postwar world. A very special reason for hoping this is the unfaith of many in the Soviet Union, and their belief that the Soviet Union desires neither a stable nor a peaceful, least of all a democratic, postwar world. I assume that the Soviet Union means what it says—that it aims to create the kind of world in which the great and small nations of the world ought to live and would wish to live. I devoutly hope, touching this most important of human problems, that the Soviet Union will confound its enemies and delight its friends.

Frank X. Martel

President, Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor

EVEN before the days the United States government invited Ludwig K. Martens, Soviet Ambassador, to return to Russia, I have felt that the security and peace of Europe would not be insured until the Russian people, with their new philosophy, were accepted by all nations on an equal basis; and the right of Russia to play a major role in determining the policy of continental Europe was fully recognized.

We must never lose sight of the fact that the Russian people have a historic background of friendliness to the United States. Whether or not the people of the United States agree with the form of government the Russian people seek to institute for themselves is not the important thing; but that we should recognize the rights of the Russian people to have the kind of government that suits their needs and desires is the important thing. Failure on our part to accord them that right would cast a cloud on the desires of the American people to be treated with the same consideration. We must not lose sight of the fact that at one time the government as instituted in this country by our founding fathers was just as repugnant to the chancelleries of other nations as that of the socialist Soviet Republics has been to the chancelleries of our present day.

The peoples of Russia have won world recognition the hard way. The valiant struggle of their brave and courageous army, the willing sacrifices of its patient and long suffering peoples, and the persistent and consistent position of its leaders towards the Nazi's and fascist's government show all too clearly that they were much more awake to the menace to world peace and security than were the leaders of our demo-

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cratic countries. When Maxim Litvinov rose on the floor of the League of Nations and challenged France and England to join in stopping Mussolini in his murderous raids on Ethiopia, had Russia's advice been followed, fascism would have been nipped in the bud. And later, when Hitler went into Austria and Czechoslovakia, the statesmen of Russia again challenged the leaders of the democratic countries to join in putting a stop to Hitler's mad rampage. Had their leadership been followed, Europe would not have been devastated and ten million people now dead would not have been sacrificed.

Soviet Russia has been forced by circumstances and for its protection to assert a policy that will do more to stabilize the peace of Europe and destroy its archaic political laws that have made the peoples of Europe the victims of designing royal houses and avaricious industrial barons. If there is chagrin that the peoples of Europe are now looking to Russia for leadership, they who take exception to her new and dominant position on the Continent can thank the stupid and cowardly leadership of other European nations just prior to the present outbreak.

Rev. John H. Melish

Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y.

I WANT to think the Russian people will make good use of the incredible opportunity that is theirs to succeed where others have failed. They have made the greatest experiment of any people since that of the United States in 1776. Now theirs is the opportunity of cooperating with other nations in a people's peace; not a diplomat's peace, or a soldiers peace, above all not a conqueror's peace; but a people's peace which promotes the economic, social, and spiritual good of mankind. People everywhere desire peace, security, good will, understanding. This desire must needs be implemented somehow. The implementation is known to the Russians, the British, and the Americans in their principle of federation.

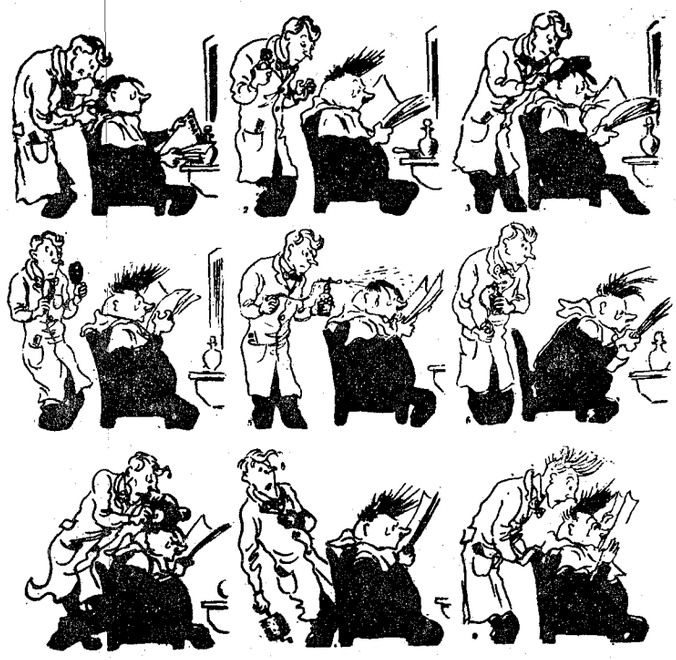
William Rose Benet

Writer

ANYTHING I might say would, necessarily, be mere speculation. I can only tell you what I hope and feel. In the first place, at Teheran, or so I read, Marshal Stalin expressed unequivocally "his desire to conciliate his neighbors," and our President discussed with him very fully what has been called our "good neighbor policy." Certainly, in my opinion, after the fomenters of this war have been brought to the bar of justice, it would be criminal folly for both the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics not to make every effort to resolve European discords and to establish an era of genuine friendship and mutual aid between two of the largest countries in the world and their allies. I have great hopes for that. And one reason why I do not wish to see Mr. Roosevelt superseded at the helm of our ship of state at this juncture is that he has already the confidence and friendship of the strong leader of the Soviet Union.

President Roosevelt has a firm grasp of the situation, and I feel that there is mutual trust and friendship between him and Marshal Stalin. Both our countries have their neighborhood problems. No one with any understanding believes that the future will hold no differences and no tensions; but goodwill seems to me to have been established. With the goodwill to work things out together, and not merely to insist upon one's own point of view, most human problems can be solved. If either side is going to be continually touchy and carry a chip on its shoulder, certainly everyone's difficulties will be enormously increased. There is a very great responsibility laid upon the press of both countries, not only to tell the truth but to curb immoderate language, and genuinely to try to contribute to a mutual understanding. Good manners go a long way in this world to build understanding.

As for Russian courage, energy, ability to create a great free thriving commonwealth, I have the highest opinion of all these attributes of hers. Every revolution goes through a period of excesses; but we should never forget that Russia's aim has been a world better and more just for all mankind. That also is our own aim. If we keep that firmly in mind, we can go forward together without fear.



"The Fuehrer's Morning Toilet, or News from the Eastern Front," by N. Radlov.

From "Crocodil."

Bishop Arthur W. Moulton

Bishop of Utah

HERE in Salt Lake City we are building up a program to celebrate Russia Day on June 22. I think we must do more than that and I am endeavoring to do what I can to bring before the community the profound significance of Russia. We must not be satisfied with relief. We must work toward an understanding of that great people. I think that the Soviet Union has a stronger bearing on the stability of the postwar world than any other single unit. The Soviet Union has, I believe, the quality of unity. We do not possess it in this nation to the same degree. We have suffered from prosperity and from the inability to control our prosperity. The Russian people have suffered in an entirely different way. My own feeling is that they have successfully fought out profound issues. I think they are nearer to solving the almost eternal problem of capital and labor and class distinctions. I think they will allow the individual personality to grow and develop. I think also that they will turn out to be the most religious people in the world. Many will not agree with me in this judgment, but I am sure of it. I believe that they are fundamentally and profoundly religious. This, of course, is more significant for the postwar world than anything else.

Rockwell Kent

Artist

THERE was a certain family of boys who, although they were brothers, were forever fighting with one another. They always had fought. The first-born fought with the second-born; the first- and second-born fought with the third; the three fought with the fourth. And at last, when the youngest came along, they all ganged up on him. This youngest brother, it happened, didn't want to fight. It wasn't his disposition to fight. He was a philosopher of a kind and believed that nothing could be gained by fighting. But self-protection was another matter. And, protecting himself against the others, he soon learned to use his fists. In time he got to be so strong that the other brothers grew afraid of him though he had no wish in the world but to be left alone, to be a good brother to the others and live on friendly terms with them. People were interested in this family of brothers, for their incessant fights were disturbing the general peace. "What," they asked one another, "will be the role of this younger brother 'in creating a stable, peaceful, and democratic family?'"

The younger brother in the family of nations is, of course, the Soviet Union. And the question has been asked by the editors of the NEW MASSES. The answer is that it is not up to the Soviet Union to adopt a new role toward the creation of a peaceful postwar world. The Soviet Union has no interest in aggression. Expansion is inconsistent with its economy. Ever since it was born, it has sought international cooperation. The hand of the Soviet Union which was shaken at Teheran had been extended to us for more than twenty years. That hand was extended in good faith. Our hand has been shaken in good faith. It is up to us to maintain the good faith that our hand-shake pledged. If that is maintained, "the role of the Soviet Union in creating a stable, peaceful, and democratic postwar world" will be to cooperate with all the nations of the world to an extent, and in a spirit, that the world, to its vast sorrow, has never before known.

W. Horsley Gantt

Director Pavlovian Laboratory and Associate in Psychiatry, Johns Hopkins University

RUSSIA has grown in the past twenty-five years from a feudal chaotic despotism to a rapidly developing world power dominated by physical vigor, political consciousness, and spiritual

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"My Father is a Collective Farm Shepherd," by Kamol Amreddinov, age twelve. From an exhibition got together by the Central House for the Artistic Education of Children in Uzbekistan, displayed in Moscow. This particular drawing reflects the style of ancient Uzbek manuscripts.

coherence. She feels her strength—she has proved it to herself, she has demonstrated it to the world. A remarkable growth has occurred through a cooperative social system in which are embraced important elements of democracy colored by Russian tradition. Further development may be expected in proportion to her feeling of security. It will not be to Russia's advantage to become militarily aggressive when her feeling for security has been satisfied because for the next generation her chief interest must center upon her own internal development. Russia knows what she wants and at last feels that attainment either with or without our help is now within her reach. She now faces the world with the desire for security and world stability. Security on her borders depends upon an unaggressive bloc in Europe for which she will ask our recognition. A definite consistent and sincere plan for a stable Europe evolved jointly by Russia, Great Britain, and the USA is necessary for a stable peace. Like a three-legged stool, any one of the props, if weak, can cause the structure to fall. The responsibility is therefore a joint one that cannot be shirked by us. But we can feel assured that with our participation Russia would prefer to support a world order of stability and peace.

Joachim Joesten

Author of "What Russia Wants"

NEXT to an Axis victory—now a most unlikely prospect—the greatest calamity that could befall Europe and the world would be a general restoration of the *status quo ante*. Fascism was not a product of spontaneous generation. It arose from, and throve in the miasmal conditions created by the last war and the ill-considered peace that ended it: misshaped countries, hastily drawn frontiers, economic and social injustices, the suppression of healthy revolutionary movements, the artificial survival of ramshackle dynasties, the excesses of uncontrolled capitalism and landlordism, and so forth. How can we hope to build a better world, if we do not first sweep aside the accumulated rottenness of past centuries?

The Soviet Union, besides bearing the brunt of the fight against fascism, has demonstrated in practice that it sponsors the emergence everywhere of truly democratic and socially stable regimes. Its policies toward Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, Germany, France, among other countries, are marked by moderation, fairness, and a progressive spirit.

Regardless of their views about the internal regime of the Soviet Union, honest liberals cannot find much fault with the foreign policy practiced by Moscow in recent years. In its broad lines, it definitely is in the interest of the common people, of human progress, and of a stable peace.

Bela Lugosi

Actor, President Hungarian-American Council for Democracy

HISTORY has proved that the statements and commitments of the Soviet Union can and should be taken at their face value. The role of the USSR in creating a stable, peaceful, and democratic world is already outlined in agreements and statements of her leaders. At Teheran, the Soviet Union agreed "that our nations shall work together in the war and in the peace that will follow." For the development of her economic and social program the USSR must have stability in Europe and Asia. Russia cannot tolerate any *cordon sanitaire* or anti-Soviet coalition, or hostile strategic frontiers. Her vital postwar aim is security, which can be achieved only in a truly democratic world.

Stalin declared on Nov. 6, 1942, that "The program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is: abolition of racial exclusiveness; equality of nations and integrity of their territories; liberation of the enslaved nations and the restoration of their sovereign rights; the right of every nation to manage its affairs in its own way; economic aid to nations that have suffered, and assistance in establishing their material welfare; restoration of democratic liberties; destruction of the Hitler regime." No doubt the economic and military strength of the Soviet Union will be one of the greatest guarantees in carrying out this program. And this is her most important role in the postwar world.

Reid Robinson

President, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers-CIO

IT IS reasonable to expect that any of the Allied nations which are playing decisive roles in the winning of the war will continue into the postwar period the foreign policies they are now pursuing. It is therefore reasonable to expect—on the basis of its war record, including participation in the Moscow and Teheran conferences—that the Soviet Union will cooperate with the other United Nations in creation of a stable, peaceful, democratic postwar world.

It is vital to the interests of the United States that this be recognized in order that the collective security envisaged in the Teheran agreement shall be realized. It is encouraging to find such leaders of government and business as Cordell Hull and Eric Johnston concurring in these views.

President Roosevelt must be a candidate for reelection in order that the American people may express their will to continue this international cooperation into the postwar period.

Dirk J. Struik

Professor of Mathematics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

THE Soviet Union, at the end of the global war, will be the most powerful country of the Eurasian continent and will have a decisive influence in shaping the future of the world. It has a stable government, has no imperialist designs, and has democratic institutions, which it endeavors to extend. The existence of such a country will have a considerable stabilizing and democratic influence over the whole world.

The Soviet Union is also clearly aware that its present plight was caused by the growth of undemocratic institutions beyond its boundaries, and its whole weight will be thrown to prevent the recurrence of such a situation. In this the Soviet Union will have the support of the vast majority of the peoples now under the German and Japanese yoke, who have learned, too well, what fascism means. Extensive trade relations will also join these peoples together and make for stabilization.

The present policy of the USSR is a guide to the future. The Soviet Union has declared its adherence to the Atlantic Charter, the declaration of the United Nations, the decisions of the Moscow and Teheran conferences, and in this way stands committed to a support of world peace and democracy. Its pact with Czechoslovakia shows how strictly it will adhere to a policy of friendship with a democracy without interference with its internal affairs. Its basic policy of friendship with Great Britain and the USA will also promote stability in the postwar world.

We can also expect that the Soviet Union will participate in all actions to strengthen the Atlantic Charter, to eliminate fascist and semi-fascist groups like those of Franco and the Polish government-in-exile, and to deepen trade and cultural relations with other countries. It will also inspire men and women all over the world with its own enthusiasm for higher social, cultural, and moral standards.

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POSTWAR TRADE WITH THE USSR

By A. M. HAMILTON

Mr. Hamilton is vice-president of the American Locomotive Company.

SOVIET RUSSIA has demonstrated to the world such dramatic vitality and national capacity not only on the battle-front but in creating the great industrial machine which produced her weapons that she may be expected to become one of the world's centers of industrial production in the postwar era. But to bridge the gap from war to peacetime reconstruction, she will undoubtedly be looking to American industry for urgently needed tools, machinery, and other heavy equipment.

In any attempt to estimate the probable extent of foreign markets for American industry in the postwar reconstruction period, therefore, the Soviet Union looms as one of our greatest potential customers. Indeed, it appears that Russia's needs will be so vast that if we can find a way to supply them, the resulting stimulus to business activity and employment can be a major factor in easing our own transition from war to peace. Estimates of potential Russian purchases range as high as ten billion dollars worth of American-made products over a ten-year period. These estimates are predicated on requirements for both producer and consumer goods, resulting from the widespread devastation wrought by the war.

Probably more than anything else the Soviet Union is going to need transport equipment. Despite the great pre-war development of the country's railroad system —to a point where Russia had approximately as many locomotives as Great Britain, Germany, or France (estimated at 20,000 to 25,000 in comparison to 42,000 US locomotives), Russian railroads had never caught up with the demands of the nation's expanding economy. In this connection the writer has been told and has every reason to believe, although no official information has been released, that in some sections of the Soviet Union the density of traffic on the railroads was greater than anywhere else in the world. The war, of course, has greatly aggravated the shortage of railroad equipment. The destruction of railroad facilities has been widespread in invaded areas, which contained a major portion of the country's railway mileage. In the urgent task of rehabilitating these regions, the railways and other means of transport will have to be restored early.

It is true that on the score of locomotives alone many hundreds will have been delivered to the Soviet Union under lend-lease at the end of the war. The American Locomotive Company, for example, is currently producing large numbers of Russian locomotives—both steam and Diesel. But many hundreds more will undoubtedly be required in the postwar period, together with thousands of freight and passenger cars and other equipment and material. Up to the war, the Soviet Union had made considerable strides in the production of locomotive-building facilities with which to take care of her own needs. The requirements of rehabilitation, however, in addition to normal requirements, will undoubtedly cause her to look to foreign sources to supplement her own efforts for some time. In this interval it is natural to expect that Russia will turn first to the United States.

IN ADDITION to railroad reconstruction and expansion, river and coast-wise transport and highway building are likely to figure importantly in Russia's postwar planning. The Soviet Union's great inland waterway is a vital part of the national transportation system, particularly for moving bulk freight and in the development of Siberia, which relies almost entirely upon its rivers for north-south transportation. It is logical, therefore, that the Soviet Union should look to the United States for large numbers of self-propelled barges and other river craft, and that considerable numbers of ocean-going vessels, including ice-breakers will be needed to serve Russia's long Pacific and Arctic coastline.

It may also be expected that the Soviet Union will undertake a great road-building program. The country was almost completely lacking in modern highways in the regions east of the Volga when the war began, and it may be assumed that most of the roads in the Ukraine and other battle-scarred areas have been all but ruined by several years of constant heavy military traffic and the effects of bombings and shell fire. Road-building equipment of all kinds as well as other equipment and materials needed for highway construction will therefore be in demand. To these products of heavy industry may be added a long list of others, including machine tools, electric generating equipment for the chemical and plastic industries, mining equipment of all types, oil producing and refinery equipment and machinery for food, textile, and other manufacturing.

"A Bukhara Bride," watercolor by Ira Karavey, age seven, an illustration for an Uzbek fairy-tale. Ira is a Ukrainian, one of many children evacuated to Uzbekistan during the winter of 1941-42. Also from the Uzbek children's art exhibit.

In pre-war years, Russian purchases were limited largely to producer goods. It has been suggested, however, that during the early period of reconstruction, the Russian government may very well depart from its previous policy in order to import certain types of consumer products for which there will be an immediate need to alleviate the acute wants of millions of the country's inhabitants in the invaded areas, who have suffered drastic impoverishment. Such a policy might mean a large export market for such items as food, clothing, leather, footwear, automobiles, electrical refrigerators, and many types of electric appliances.

Whatever the potentialities of our postwar trade with Russia may be in terms of dollar volume, those Americans who have had an opportunity to live and work in the Soviet Union are generally agreed that the Russians tend to look first to the United States as a preferred source for the products, processes, inventions, and improvements that will speed the fruition of their great plans for the country's economic development. The writer had ample occasion to be aware of this during years spent in Russia from 1915 to 1918 when he saw at first hand the birth of the present regime and particularly in 1935, when he had occasion to observe the tremendous progress made in a few years in building up modern industries, mechanizing agriculture, and expanding railroad transport. To duplicate the achievements of American industry, technology and productive efficiency has been and continues to be the goal of the Soviet Union.

But many other factors contribute to the background of common economic interests against which we may hope for a continuing growth in trade and understanding in the years ahead. Before the war, hundreds of American engineers, chemists, industrial builders, agricultural

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Our Common Tasks

IT IS three years since the Russians have withstood the full onslaught of the Nazi hosts. During this period their losses will have run to millions, not to speak of the homeless, and orphans. Much fertile land and many great cities have fallen before the invaders. But the Red Army has held back and driven back the best that Germany could send against them. Russia has absorbed much of the punishment, destroyed most of the enemy and given to the United Nations invaluable time in which to gather their forces for the attack. We, in this country, have helped them all that we could and have strained our resources to do so, but our contribution has been small in comparison to theirs. It is, therefore, only fitting that we should pay tribute to Russia on this occasion.

Not only is the Red Army continuing to destroy the German forces, but the pact of Moscow heralds a new era in international relations. More than that we can say to the Russian people that together we will go forward to victory and lasting peace.

We are going to see after the war more mechanical equipment and more inventive progress than ever in the world's history. For years man had been using his genius toward his own destruction. If peace is to bless our children, we of the present must learn it is not too late to turn this same genius toward the progress of mankind. The future of the world lies in better understanding by the leaders of nations. They must be more familiar with what has gone on in this world, and how, and why. And such knowledge is essential if men and women are to guide their countries successfully through the years of peace: years that will be just as difficult in their own way as these trying years of war. There must be better understanding also among the ordinary men and women of different lands.

Events have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that the future prosperity of the United States depends upon the stability of the world. Greater friendly understanding among nations is absolutely essential if international peace is to be preserved. No gross international injustice, no gross international aggression must ever again be looked upon as alien to us. The progress of science has made all nations neighbors. What happens to one is inescapably the concern of all.

The United States must assume its full share of neighborly responsibility. But in doing so we must beware of any holier-than-thou attitude. We cannot expect all the other peoples of the earth to have the same points of view, the same desires, the same reactions, just as we do not expect them to impose their ways upon us. To know what the other fellow was thinking and to respect his point of view is a quality we need to develop today in dealing with other nations. We must expect there to be a spirit of give and take. The Moscow pact and the Cairo and Teheran parleys are the answer to the prayers of millions of people that nations can get along together. The all-important thing is the will to cooperate, to understand each other and work together. Our policies may change to suit the march of events, but never should our goal: a lasting peace and goodwill among the nations of the earth.

GOVERNOR LEVERETT SALTONSTALL (*Mass.*)

experts, geologists, skilled workers, and technicians of all kinds were welcomed to the Soviet Union. They designed and built plants, installed machinery, helped survey the country's mineral wealth, taught American methods. Their labors played a part in creating the industrial strength which gave Russia's armies the power to turn back the Nazi tide.

US-Soviet trade in the pre-war years amounted to a considerable volume, despite various difficulties. Beginning in 1924 when US exports were $42,103,713, something over twice the 1910-1914 average, the dollar value of goods shipped to Russia rose to a high of $114,398,537 in 1930, fell off sharply in 1933 to a low of $8,971,865 and then rose steadily to $105,309,687 in 1941. Since that time, our shipments under lend-lease, and consisting, of course, mainly of war materiel and supplies directly related to prosecution of the war, have reached enormous proportions. E. C. Ropes of the US Department of Commerce, at a dinner given by the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship on Nov. 6, 1943, reported that "the Lend-Lease Administrator has released statistics showing the total shipments on this account from Oct. 1, 1941, through June 1943: this sum adds up to the tremendous total of $2,444,000,000." Large as this sum is, it is of no greater magnitude than the annual volume of orders which the Soviet Union reportedly would be ready to place in the United States for capital goods alone in the first several years following the peace—provided that ways can be found to establish the necessary credit arrangements.

This problem of financing is one which may properly engage the attention of our postwar planners in government and business circles at an early date. It is obvious that where immediate needs are of such vast proportions cash payments or short term credits will not suffice. Neither will American corporations—even the largest—be in a position to finance more than a portion of the potential business out of their own resources—although it has been reported that several major firms have already commenced preliminary negotiations with the Russians for huge postwar orders. Favorable pre-war credit experiences with the Soviet Union encourage private arrangements of this sort.

The American Locomotive Company, for example, is only one of many American corporations which did business with Russia before the war on a deferred payment basis, and it was one of the first to do so. Shipments of locomotives in 1927 and 1931 were made on a basis of deferred terms of payment. Beginning in 1931 large quantities of oil refinery equipment were shipped from time to time on terms extending up to thirty months. Nevertheless, such arrangements at best represent only a fraction of the potential business, and adequate alternatives are still to be found. Private bankers can contribute little to a solution, since they are restrained by law from lending depositors' funds for such purchases. The Johnson act proscribes the sale of foreign bonds in this country and even though it were modified it is questionable if enough bonds could be sold here to meet the enormous needs, regardless of the cost of this type of financing. There remain, therefore, only such possibilities as an extension of some form of lend-lease during the postwar period, or creation of some other machinery of governmental aid to business, whereby credits extended to the Soviet Union might be guaranteed. The problem is by no means a simple one—since it necessarily involves so many considerations of American foreign policy, domestic politics, and the whole complex of this country's postwar problems with respect to world trade. Nevertheless, we may hope that the great importance of American-Soviet relationships, and the potential benefits to ourselves from doing business with Russia on the indicated scale, will overcome whatever obstacles may exist, and lead to a devising of means whereby that trade may become a reality.

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THE FOREBEARS OF THE RED ARMY

By SERGEI KOURNAKOFF

THE German-Soviet war is now three years old. The tremendous campaigns which have been fought during this period have no precedent in military history. The general course of the war, so like the oscillations of a great pendulum, can be divided into six phases—although admittedly this division is somewhat mechanical and is based entirely on the reversals of the tide of operations.

There were, basically, three German offensives and three Soviet offensives—if we disregard the smaller operations such as the local Soviet counterblows at Yelnya in the summer of 1941, at Kharkov in the spring of 1942, as well as the German counterblows at Kiev in November and December 1943, at Uman in February 1944, and at Yassy in May 1944. The changing scope, power, and duration of these operations can be best gauged from a table showing the length of the front (scope) on which they were conducted, the depth of their penetration (power) and the length of time they lasted. (All figures are approximate and in round numbers; by multiplying the length of front by the average depth we obtain the area either occupied or liberated.)

Phase	*Offensive*	*Frontage Miles*	*Average Depth Miles*	*Duration*
1	1st German	1,000	600	5 mos.
2	*1st Soviet*	*400*	*250*	*3 mos.*
3	2nd German	500	340	3 mos.
4	*2nd Soviet*	*500*	*370*	*4 mos.*
5	3rd German	100	18	1 wk.
6	*3rd Soviet*	*1,000*	*300*	*10½ mos.*

Thus we see that three successive *eastward* (German) swings of the pendulum were steadily decreasing in scope, power, and duration, almost reaching the zero point in phase five, while the three successive *westward* (Soviet) swings of the pendulum were steadily increasing in all three characteristics. Furthermore, at this writing, the seventh phase has opened with a Soviet offensive which means that the pendulum will not oscillate anymore, but will keep on moving to the west.

Here is the most tangible and irrefutable proof of the fact that the Red Army has mastered the Wehrmacht in strategy, operational art, tactics, training, equipment, and fighting spirit. Many people are groping for an explanation of this phenomenon, so unexpected to the experts. Extreme "theories" are being expounded. Some say that the key to the military "miracle" lies in the social-economic setup of the Soviet system alone. Others ascribe it exclusively to the "Russian fighting tradition." Both theories are correct, but taken each by itself they are undialectical, onesided, and assume a break in the historical continuity of Russian national development as of October 1917. In fact the Soviet Union is the lawful heir of Russia and the Red Army is, in flesh and in spirit, the child of the Russian Army. But parents and children are never alike. Changing social and economic conditions leave their imprint on every new generation. The greater the intervening change, the deeper the imprint on any given generation. Thus the Russian fighting tradition has not been changed by the Red Army, but has been enhanced by the fact that it was (1) spread, broadcast, and popularized among the masses of the people through literacy and education; (2) implemented with adequate weapons; and (3) enhanced by personal identification of the soldier with the defense of the fatherland through the consciousness of common ownership of that very fatherland.

ALL through Russian history from the times of Svyatoslav to those of Suvorov the Russian soldier displayed devotion to "the Russian land," national pride, faithfulness to martial duty, great physical endurance, sober and calm courage and an ever-present readiness to display fighting comradeship expressed in mutual assistance between the men.

Steadfastness was expressed in the ancient phrase "To stand until death" which appeared in an order of the day of the Grand Duke of Kiev Svyatoslav during his war with Byzantium, in 971 A.D. And Svyatoslav added: "For the dead do not know shame." National pride was expressed in Suvorov's rallying cry "Good Heavens —aren't we Russians!"—the spirit of comradeship in the soldiers' proverb: "Die yourself, but help your comrade!"—a firm belief in the lofty cause of a patriotic war in Prince Pozharsky's cry: "Our cause is righteous, fight to the death!"

The historical stability of the psychophysical qualities of the Russian soldier are reflected in the stability of the national traits of Russian military art. One of these traits appearing throughout Russian history is the participation of the people as a whole in the defense of their country. Already in the early centuries of our era the Scythians, who taught our Slav ancestors a few things about war, applied defense in depth, retreat into the interior, and scorched earth. Early Byzantine and Arabic historians tell us about a similar strategy being applied by the Slavs. This strategy obviously requires the people as a whole to play an active part in the war.

This popular participation in conflicts is to be found all through the so-called Kiev and Moscow periods of Russian history and does not vanish even with the introduction of regular Russian armies. Beginning with the end of the fifteenth century when mercenary troops began to play a dominant part in western Europe, the Moscow state continues to base its power on a national army. The practice of hiring mercenaries was not unknown to Moscow, especially in the seventeenth century (Czar Alexis). It was a sort of concession to the western European trend, but it never obscured or replaced the basic national Russian tradition of having a national army.

One of the most brilliant examples of Russian patriotic wars, or wars in defense of the fatherland, is afforded by the so-called "Troubled Times" in the early seventeenth century, when the country, ruined, divided, and overrun by all sorts of interventionists, was saved by a great upsurge of the people who found in themselves the strength and the leadership (Prince Pozharsky and Minin) to drive out the invaders and rebuild their state.

Peter the Great, while modernizing the Russian army according to western European standards, limited the application of these standards only to the technical and organizational side of the problem. Peter preserved and enhanced the Russian historical military tradition. He abolished the hiring of mercenaries completely and recruited into his modern army only Russians, predominantly from the provinces which formed the nucleus of the state of that day.

During enemy incursions into Russia in the eighteenth century the people always took an active part in the struggle. The army was supported by popular levies (*"Narodnoye Opolchenye"*). The people organized partisan warfare, which was then elemental in its inception, but was already controlled by the Russian Commander-in-Chief.

The popular characters of the Patriotic War of 1812 and the role of the Partisan movement in that war are too well known to need restatement. Suffice it to say that Kutuzov's plan, reminiscent of Peter's for the defeat of Charles XII of Sweden, was deeply national in character. The roots of Kutuzov's "war of destruction," as Napoleon dubbed it, were deeply traditional and can be traced to the principles of the ancient "Scythian warfare," possible only *when the entire people take part in it.*

One hundred and thirty-two years have passed since the first Patriotic War of 1812, but the fighting traditions of the

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Russian people have been fully preserved. In the first World War the population of certain German-occupied provinces waged partisan warfare, the latter suddenly breaking out with greater strength after the revolution. The battles of the newly born Red Army at Pskov in early 1918 were fought in close contact and cooperation with the partisans who had become "Red," but who at the same time remained typically and traditionally Russian.

THUS a new era in the history of Russia's fighting forces began with the enhancement of the most important national trait of the Russian military tradition—the participation in the war not of the army only, *but of the entire people.*

Russian troops are characterized by activity (or verve, dash, energy, as opposed to inertness; there is no exact English equivalent for the Russian "aktivnost") and tenaciousness in battle. Tremendous driving power when on the offensive and unyielding staunchness in defense have characterized the Russian soldier throughout his entire long history. The monolithic unity of Russian military formations is the result of such qualities of martial solidarity between the men. In this respect a Russian proverb is very significant. I do not believe any other nation has the equivalent: "*Na miru i smert krasna*" which means "Even death is beautiful when it occurs in the presence of one's friends." Passive defense goes against the spirit of the Russian warrior and Russian national military art rejects it in principle. This historical fact should have been known to all those military experts who before the war and even in 1941 were babbling about the Red Army being only good at passive defense.

Examples of active defense (warding off and then counter-attacking) are already afforded by the campaigns of Vladimir Monomakhos in the early twelfth century, the wars of Alexander Nevsky against the Swedes and Germans in the thirteenth century, the struggle against the Tartar invaders culminating in the Battle of Kulikovo in the end of the fourteenth century, the wars against the Knights of the Livonian Order in the end of the fifteenth century.

The epic defense of cities, so well demonstrated at Leningrad, Odessa, and Stalingrad, also is deeply traditional. Take the defense of Pskov against the Livonian Knights in 1480, the siege of the Troitze-Serghievsky Monastery against the Poles in 1608-10, the defense of Smolensk during that same period, of Poltava against the Swedes in 1709, of Sevastopol against the Allied armies in 1854-55.

In unpropitious and dangerous circumstances it is characteristic of Russian tactics to apply the defensive-offensive principle (viz., the counterblow at Yelnya in 1941 and the counterblow at Kharkov in the spring of 1942).

"Sniper Ivanov's production plan has been fulfilled ninety-nine percent . . . with one percent spoiled material," by G. Valk.

From "Crocodil."

The high development of Russian tactics of maneuver and the timely use of reserves find brilliant examples in Peter's battles of Lesnaya and Poltava, in Rumyantsov's siege of Colberg (1761, the Seven Years War), at Larga and Kagul (1770) and in the campaigns of 1768-1774 and 1787. As for the battles and campaigns of the greatest of all Russian generals, Suvorov, their roster is too long for inclusion in this brief sketch. They are the pride of Russian tactics of maneuver.

There is a profound difference between the understanding of the *object* of maneuver by the great western captains and their Russian contemporaries. While the former sought by maneuver to place the enemy in a dangerous position and thus *force him to retreat without actually joining combat,* Russian strategists used maneuver as direct means of *destroying the manpower of the enemy.* "Sly" tactics, as ruses of war have been incorrectly translated by some foreign correspondents in the USSR during the present war, have always been used by the Russians with great variety and, therefore, success. In them, their innate resourcefulness found expression. Diversions were always a Russian "dish." So well did Suvorov conceal his plans that his subordinate, Austrian General Kray, did not know until the end of the battle of Novi (Italy, 1799) that his was not the main blow, but simply a diversion. Many foreign travelers and "memoirists," writing about Muscovy, point out that military ruses of astounding resourcefulness, ambushes, sudden appearance in the enemy rear, luring the enemy by fake retreat, avoiding battle and then suddenly delivering an overwhelming blow —have been characteristic tactics of Muscovite troops. In this respect the "false" attack by the Cossack "*lava*" (fluid, open, mounted formation) followed by "flight," which has for its objective to lure the enemy close to one's own batteries, is typical.

ANOTHER typical trait of Russian military art is to insist on full, complete, and accurate intelligence about the enemy, always followed by a sober and realistic appraisal of his strength and ability. The same standard of objectivity is applied by the Russians to themselves (see Marshal Stalin's orders of the day, and radio speeches, especially July 3, 1941; Nov. 7, 1941; Feb. 23, 1942; May 1, 1942; Nov. 7, 1942; Feb. 23, 1943; May 1, 1943; Nov. 7, 1943 in "Soviet War Documents," June 1941-November 1943, Supplement to the Information Bulletin of the Embassy of the USSR).

Contrary to the popular and completely erroneous idea that Russian generals and officers are hamstrung by a complete lack of initiative, historic facts (not fables) show that both Russian commanders and soldiers have always displayed, as a rule, great initiative and freedom from routine and *cliches* (so typical of the German army). Russian discipline has always been severe, but not mechanical. The soldier must obey without losing his personality, without weakening his initiative.

Peter the Great used to say "Do not hug the regulations as a blind man hugs a wall." This is in direct contrast to Prussian principles. Suvorov expressed his hatred for routine in these words addressed to the Austrian generals: "All wars differ. No battle can be won in the general's study. Learn to use the terrain to good advantage, control your own luck: a fleeting instant may bring victory."

To sum up the foregoing, it may be said in the words of the Soviet military writer N. Korobkov: "Russian military art is the art of decisively crushing the foe. It rests upon the high morale of the troops, on the exceptional spirit of self-sacrifice, and on the readiness of the Russian soldier to perform deeds of heroism, as well as on his amazing physical stamina, his live spirit of initiative, quick wits, and resourcefulness. Russian military art is inherently active—not passive. Under unfavorable strategic circumstances it is expressed in the form of *active defense,* under favorable circumstances—in resolute attack.

"Russian military art has a popular character, not only in the sense that it stems from the national characteristics of the army and people, but also because the people themselves take part in the defense of the country not only in the ranks of the army, but directly, as a people. The defensive wars (defensive *in purpose,* not in operational forms—S.K.) of Russia are all people's wars."

Patriotism, initiative, self-denial, will for victory, staunchness both in offense and in defense, strong comradely unity and mutual support—all these historic traits of the Russian soldier have found their clear reflection in Russian military art.

All outstanding Russian generals, to say nothing of the greatest among them, followed the path of the national art of war, and victory unfailingly crowned their campaigns because they knew how fully to put to use the inherent qualities of their armies. The Russian people are peaceful and do not worship war, but they are great warriors who know only victory as the outcome of the struggle. Field-Marshal Suvorov

(*Continued one page* 31)

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PLOT TO STEAL AN ELECTION

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

THE American Democratic National Committee, formerly headed by Harry Woodring, is modestly taking credit through its spokesmen here, for the recent Texas putsch aimed at preventing the people from electing a President. In his combined law offices and the committee headquarters in the Washington Building, Vice Chairman John J. O'Connor, former New York Representative and ex-head of the powerful House Rules Committee, briefly recounted the victories of the anti-popular vote movement. But despite his words he looked none too happy. "You can get all that information from the enemy—that's where you're from if you're from NEW MASSES," he said morosely. He is a short thick-set man with bags under his eyes and untidy red-sandy hair he rumpled as he showed me into his spacious office.

I had been seated in his reception hall perusing a bound volume of his remarks during the spring of 1938, violently Red-baiting, isolationist remarks they were, too. He greeted me surlily. Seated at his desk, he rattled papers, one a letter from the Byrd-for-President club in Florida. The Byrd-for-President clubs and his organization "cooperated closely," he said.

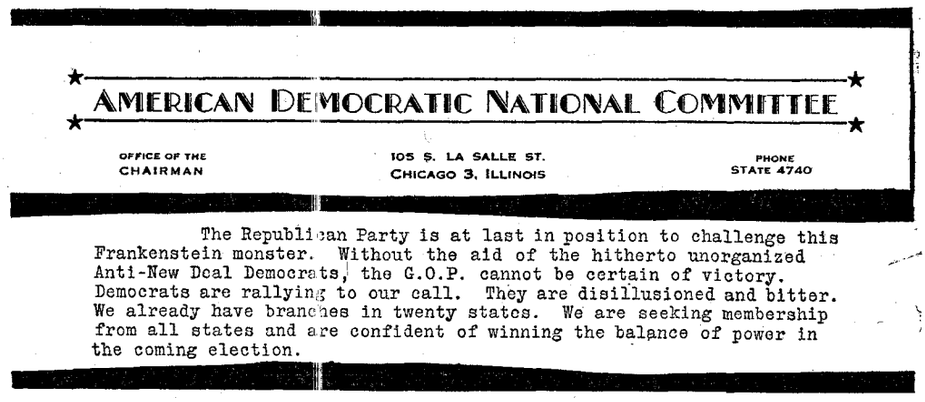
Louisiana was the first state to choose electors pledged to vote for anyone but Franklin D. Roosevelt, Texas the second, Mississippi the third. South Carolina has postponed its convention and is making threats. "And Florida is split," he said. "Of course Pepper (Sen. Claude Pepper, who won a bitterly fought primary race recently) has no legal right to head the delegation. He was only elected as a proxy for an alternate." As a matter of record, Senator Pepper was duly appointed as an alternate by one of the elected delegates, and in turn was elected permanent chairman of the delegation at a meeting of the delegates, who in Florida are elected in the primary. O'Connor's idea of a "split" is being fostered by Joe Jenkins, president of the Florida Byrd-for-President club, who recently was accused of having worked in one of the recurrent campaigns of the late Mr. Howey, Florida's Republican candidate for governor. The fact is that of the elected delegates fourteen are pledged for Roosevelt and four for Byrd.

"Who are you for?" I asked O'Connor. "No one," he said. "Or let's say anyone counted by the Census Bureau, anyone in the whole country, except the man who's *in there now.*" I looked around at the large but almost silent office, strangely lacking in bustle for an organization whose future was as bright as O'Connor insisted it was. "We have our main offices in Chicago and New York, and other big ones in Los Angeles, Detroit, and elsewhere—this is just a little branch," he muttered apologetically. But the anti-FDR wave was sweeping the country, he went on. "I haven't any more time to talk to you," he announced suddenly and led me to the door and grunted a farewell, an angry little man determined to do by ruse what can't be done legally.

Previously his one fellow office-worker, a red-haired secretary, had given me some of the committee's reprints and literature. These included two editorials from Hearst's New York *Daily Mirror*, one berating the New Deal for using the Army "to enforce its extra-Constitutional doctrines on a private business." "It wasn't Mr. Avery that the soldiers carried out of Montgomery Ward's. IT WAS THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES," it said. The other, headed "The New Deal Reds," said the reelection of Roosevelt "and an indefinite entente with Stalin" would mean in the end "the COMMUNIZATION OF AMERICA." There was included, too, an editorial praising the committee by Samuel B. Pettengill, Frank Gannett publicist and formerly chairman of the Gannett-founded Committee for Constitutional Government and ex-finance committee chairman for the Republican National Committee. He is a former GOP Congressman from Indiana. It was Pettengill, it was charged June 1 in the *Daily Worker* by Adam Lapin, who went into Texas a few weeks before local conventions picked delegates to the recent Democratic state convention at Austin, and raised $100,000 to promote the anti-FDR coup.

The plot is very simple. Instead of electors voting for the candidate with the popular majority in the state, they would ignore the votes of the people, vote for another Democrat, and if successful, throw the election into the House of Representatives. According to the Constitution, the electors are not bound to vote for the presidential candidate the voters have named. So the plotters, knowing they have no real popular support, are announcing they will steal the election. They think the House, voting for the top two candidates, would vote against FDR.

WASHINGTON chairman of the American Democratic National Committee, and assistant treasurer of the organization, I discovered, was my old acquaintance, Ralph Moore. When I last saw Ralph it had been in his combined hotel room and office where he conducted his lobbying activities in behalf of the National Farm Committee. This committee last year called the Chicago Food Conference for Gannett, and Ralph had got Robert M. Harriss, New York cotton broker and for years adviser to the fascist, Charles E. Coughlin, to help finance it. Ralph is one of the cruder Washington lobbyists and retains his Texas accent and the farmyard flavor of his speech as great assets. He is a little more spruce in his attire, as much so as his huge girth will permit. His office is no longer in a small hotel room but in the People's Life Insurance building—despite the fact he is unlisted in either the building directory or on the office door, which bears the name of Albert Levin, attorney, and



AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN

105 S. LA SALLE ST. CHICAGO 3, ILLINOIS

PHONE STATE 4740

The Republican Party is at last in position to challenge this Frankenstein monster. Without the aid of the hitherto unorganized Anti-New Deal Democrats, the G.O.P. cannot be certain of victory. Democrats are rallying to our call. They are disillusioned and bitter. We already have branches in twenty states. We are seeking membership from all states and are confident of winning the balance of power in the coming election.

From a form letter sent out by the American Democratic National Committee, signed by Chairman Gleason L. Archer, from Chicago headquarters, May 26.

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Flury & Crouch, Inc., of West Palm Beach, Fla., a contracting firm. Ralph offered me a box of Nylon stockings the last time I interviewed him and assured me, when I didn't take them, that they were not bought on the black market.

These little blandishments were not in keeping with his role with the American Democratic National Committee. It was a soberer Ralph on the whole. Only a few times did the old Moore laugh break forth and his great belly shake indecently, as when he told me the move to beat Roosevelt by the elector ruse was purely a move within the state. There were no outside forces at work. He said it soberly, but when I laughed, he let loose and laughed like hell, too. That was a good one, it sure was.

"So you've got a new job with the American Democratic Committee?" I asked him.

"I'm he'pin' 'em," he said. "I'd he'p anybody to wipe out that CIO-Communist-New Deal. Sure, we done a job in Texas. I'm fer doin' anything, ethical, unethical, I don't care, which'll bomb 'em out. It's like bombin' women and children. No, we don't believe in it, but we bomb women and children in Germany. Bomb 'em out. It's the same thing." Later he said that "you people who want to make a dictator of Roosevelt are makin' the same mistake they made in Germany." This interpreted in one way could mean that Moore and the rest of the crackpot fringe, who are doing the work for publisher Gannett and others, mean to introduce their own brand of fascism in America. Which he indicated when in reply to a question as to the effect he thought the Supreme Court decision barring the all-white Texas primary would have in the elections, he said:

"I think it'll mean a lot of nigger shootin's." His little eyes narrowed evilly, no trace remaining of the good-natured clownishness he assumes less and less frequently. "Of course, what I think they ought to do is shoot Eleanor Roosevelt."

I waited for him to laugh or to act the buffoon to show that he was making a jest —a crude Moore jest but a jest. But no smile appeared. He stared angrily out through his slits of eyes, the flesh of his face mottled. He definitely was not Moore the hearty back-slapper at this point.

Just to make conversation and get the silence over with, I suggested that the chief opponent of Sen. Lister Hill (Alabama) had got out reprints of a picture of Mrs. Roosevelt shaking hands with a Negro at a CIO-USO rally, and plastered the state with the picture and a slurring caption, but it had done him no good—Hill won the primary. Then having started him talking, my mind wandered, for relief, I guess. When I came to, he was castigating the CIO Political Action Committee. It was un-American, it should account for every cent it collected. What did it mean coming into Texas and messing into Texas affairs?

"Yet Mr. Pettengill came into Texas and had plenty to do with your state convention," I said. Moore said Pettengill didn't "attend" the sessions. Then we both laughed. Moore had claimed the convention was made up of "just a lot of men of toil." I said I'd seen a good many men of oil listed among those present. Well, they were the small independent oil men, he replied. Were the Pews and their representatives men of toil or southern Democrats? "I wouldn't say the Sun Oil Co. (headed by Joseph Pew) was monopolistic," he said. "It's not like Standard Oil, that's got its men in the high-up circles of the New Deal. Sure, there were independents there. We're for independents in Texas—we don't like monopolies."

I ASKED Moore whom he was for. "Almost anyone except that joker in the White House," he said. "I can't speak for the committee. I'd say there is a split as to who they want. Myself, I don't mind if we live under a Republican administration. But I think it would be better to have a southern Democrat in the White House—Byrd, or O'Daniel." (Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia and Sen. W. Lee O'Daniel of Texas.) Moore is a great admirer of O'Daniel, who started out by being a clown, too. O'Daniel has the backing of the slimy anti-Semitic Christian American movement, and with Gov. Frank Dixon of Alabama and the Christian Americans, headed by Vance Muse, is credited with plotting the electoral college steal at least two years ago.

"This groundswell against Roosevelt didn't begin just last month," Moore began. I was sure the "groundswell" was carefully organized long ago, I replied. I had heard that Little Rock agents of the Republicrats, as Senator Hill calls them, were combing the state of Arkansas eight months ago. Their specialty was to pay the poll-taxes of women and cultivate all the women's organizations possible. Moore professed complete ignorance of what was going on in Arkansas. Delegates to the national Democratic convention have been appointed by the Democratic committee in Arkansas, and the state convention is not held until September. Threats are being made that electors will be "free" or "uninstructed" unless certain conditions are met. As elsewhere in the South the white supremacists are using the situation more in the desperate hope of bargaining and obtaining concessions than in any expectation of preventing the election of Roosevelt. But the unexpected could happen, with the Republicans benefitting.

O'Daniel forces are strong in Arkansas, and in 1942 were able to put over the model anti-labor bill he promoted in appearances before the legislatures of Arkansas and other states, despite lively opposition. Arkansas was one of the southern states picked by Gov. John Bricker of Ohio for his speaking tour of last spring. His speech in Arkansas was uninspiring but safe. He extolled the virtues of the Constitution.

On June 19 and 20 the American Democratic National Committee is having a big "pre-convention caucus" in Chicago in the Hamilton Hotel. O'Connor and Moore both were cagey about saying who would be the principal speaker. Perhaps they are afraid of another flop such as Gannett's National Food Conference last fall turned out to be.

"But are you just leaving the farmers in the lurch?" I asked Ralph Moore before I left. "Aren't you doing any lobbying any more?"

Yes, he said, he'd been doing all he could lobbying for the Bankhead amendment. This amendment, which would have lifted cotton prices and guaranteed millers manufacturing costs plus a reasonable profit, was defeated 191—87 in the House later in the same day. Moore appeared a little glum about its chances. "We don't care, let OPA stay on the books. It'll he'p us. It hurts the administration more than anything else."

I asked Moore if he would have any objection to the amendment introduced by Rep. Paul W. Shafer (Rep., Michigan) which would extend the device in the Bankhead amendment to all farm commodities to increase prices. No, he said blandly, none at all. Interestingly, Shafer on May 5 introduced into the *Congressional Record* the declaration adopted Feb. 4 in Chicago by the American Democratic National Committee. The reactionary Republicans will not come out openly and fight FDR by appeals to racism, yet they secretly aid the "Democratic" committee which does.

THE American Democratic National Committee made a mistake when it sent a form letter to Pres. A. F. Whitney of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. Wrote Mr. Whitney in part in reply: ". . . when you call for the abolition of the New Deal 'root and branch,' you must mean that we will restore the old order of the Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover era. . . . You would be more honorable and fair were you frankly to say that it is your purpose to adopt the Hitler technique of Divide and Conquer . . . to elect a Tory Republican." Whitney noted that the letter alluded to "alien-minded philosophy," and informed Chairman Archer of the committee that Jefferson was accused of being alien-minded, a Jacobin. "In short, your brothers-in-purpose of his day thought of him just as you think of Franklin D. Roosevelt. . . . Just as you today connive to use the legitimate Democratic Party, so did Jefferson's enemies, who were monarchists, try to appear as republicans." And he quoted from Jefferson, who wrote to Albert Gallatin in 1822 that this situation "is the true key to the debates in Congress, wherein you see many calling themselves republicans, and preaching the rankest doctrines of the old federalists."

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MR. WARREN GOES TO CHICAGO

By DOLPH WINEBRENNER

San Francisco.

GOVERNOR WARREN of California has announced he is not a candidate for the Republican nomination for President or Vice President. Nevertheless, should the lightning strike him at the GOP national convention next week, he, like a certain eastern governor, would no doubt consider it his duty to accept the call to "higher service." As temporary chairman and keynote speaker of the convention Warren is supposed to be above the battle. Nevertheless, he continues to be the leading prospect for second place on the ticket.

In many respects Earl Warren parallels New York's governor, Thomas Dewey. If anything, Warren is the more discreet of the two, and has been more careful over the years to say nothing of importance. In public utterances he stays strictly within the confines of California. There is no record of any slip such as the one Dewey made in a gabby moment in 1940 before a Republican women's group, when he accused the administration of having "seriously considered" a "fantastic partnership with Russia." The nation's big-time defeatists, however, apparently don't need any such statements from Warren. On his record alone, we take it, they have easily spotted him for a fellow traveler headed away from Teheran. The Chicago *Tribune* and the New York *Daily News* recognized him as presidential timber shortly after he became governor last year. Hearst endorsed him for President at about the same time and virtually never speaks of him except as "A GREAT AMERICAN." He is considered a natural for the vice-presidential nomination.

Both Warren and Dewey look good in color in the slick-paper magazines. Warren has the added advantage of six beautiful children without whom he is seldom photographed. They are healthy young Americans well press-agented as "exuberant" and "boisterous."

The *Saturday Evening Post*, in a major effort to sell Warren to the public as a man of the people who gets things done, said that "probably the most far-reaching program of all his war projects is the postwar planning commission." This is as close as he ever got to the war. During the period when postwar plans were studiously mentioned by various persons who couldn't ignore the war altogether, Governor Warren was fond of talking of California's postwar plans. Last August, however, when everyone was awaiting anxiously what he would say on the need of an international organization to maintain peace and cooperation after the war, then looming as a real issue, Governor Warren made a speech in which he came out foursquare for the institution of the family.

Gov. Earl Warren of California

"We must return to the fundamentals," he said. "We must reattach ourselves to the old moorings—the family, the home, religion, and free government. The more I think of this war, the more I am convinced that it all reduces itself to the dream of every good man and woman—the desire to have a home and a fireside—to have happy, healthy children, taught by a good mother the virtues of mankind as she might choose to interpret them from the Good Book."

He also comes out fearlessly on occasion for free enterprise, which, like the family, is hardly an issue in the coming elections.

IN EARL WARREN we see combined some of the famous strong points of historic Republican Presidents. Harding had a handsome rugged face, but the party could not sell him to the public strictly as a family man. Coolidge had a close mouth, but was a little dour. He was, however, pictured as very kind to dogs. But in Warren, the Republicans have a man who has both a close mouth and a genial smile, and who has, moreover, six children. It's more than Dewey has, and there can be no doubt that Warren is a warmer article from a publicity agent's viewpoint than Dewey, with that Harvard-Yale-Princeton frozen quality about the Dewey smile. The Warren dentures as just as good and less startling, too. "GOVERNOR WARREN — FAMILY MAN," is the headline over a copiously illustrated piece in the March 7 *Look* magazine which shows the smiles of Mamma and Papa Warren and the little Warrens.

One of Warren's biographers pays this tribute to his mediocrity: "A serious-minded Horatio Alger character in flesh and blood, he has Calvin Coolidge's rare ability to lay a proposition on the table without giving the slightest impression that he is trying to shove it down anybody's throat." Just this note was added: "That is where the Coolidge resemblance ends, however." Apparently there are limits to the Coolidge type of charm in the eyes of Warren's smart publicists. They prefer to emphasize Warren's blue eyes and his man-to-man informality.

Let us see what those proposals are that Governor Warren laid down to California's legislature. It was, incidentally, a completely servile legislature, a typical anti-labor, Republican legislature. Well, Warren set up a food and fiber council, a highly ballyhooed affair composed wholly of corporate farm leaders, designed to help solve agricultural problems. He reformed certain criminal procedures. And in the revenue-and-taxation department, Warren was faced with an embarrassing surplus in revenue funds. Like Dewey, Warren reduced taxes (Dewey is reaping rewards in voluble criticism of his sacrifice of the public schools). Warren did take some part in reorganizing the state guard, and he backed a ten-dollar increase in old age pensions, a move largely made to split pension followers away from labor.

Like Dewey, Warren got his start as a public prosecutor. He makes much of this. He loves to talk of crime. As one interviewer revealed, he can discuss crime in general without intemperance, "but when the talk turns to bunko men . . . his blood boils." Unfortunately for the governor, however, whenever he struts in shining armor as the knight who rescued California's populace from bunko men, memories are stirred. Organized labor in California, which is no mean element in any election here, has a way of reminding the public of Warren's unsavory role in the framing of three labor martyrs, later paroled by former Gov. Culbert L. Olson. This was in 1936 when Warren was dis-

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trict attorney for Alameda County. The shipowners were trying desperately to take away the gains won in the 1934 maritime strike.

Across the Bay from San Francisco a ship's engineer was found murdered. Warren arrested and prosecuted Earl King, Ernest G. Ramsay, and Frank J. Conner, three prominent maritime union leaders. They were charged with conspiracy, the contention being they had arranged for the engineer's killing. A jury was handpicked from a panel supplied by banks and industrial firms, and the case transferred to the courtroom of a political protege of Warren's, Judge Frank M. Ogden, who virtually instructed the jury to convict the men. It did. One of the jurors admitted last year at habeas corpus proceedings for George Wallace, chief state's witness, that she had lent $4,000 to Charles D. Wehr, deputy district attorney who conducted the prosecution under Warren's direction. She also admitted contributing $750 to Warren's successful campagn for state attorney general in 1938, and she testified that Wehr in 1936 told her she would have to stay on the jury if she expected to have the loans repaid.

The "ship-murder" case has always been considered an outright frameup, not only by the maritime unions and the CIO, but by the AFL State Federation of Labor. Warren accepts full responsibility for the case. While the entire story of the woman juror's testimony on the loans was suppressed by the California press, and the referee in the proceedings refused to credit her story, labor is more than ever convinced of Warren's culpability.

The more labor voices its opinions of Warren, the more insistently does Warren caress his dog-eared union card before interviewers. The nemesis of bunko men, it seems, had joined the Musicians Union when, as a young man, he played the clarinet in a Bakersfield band. In all major interviews Warren tenderly recounts the fact that he still carries his union card. And, moreover, he tells how his father went out on strike when he was railroading, couldn't get his job back and had to take his family to another town. He actually has the crust to indicate that this left its mark on his, Earl Warren's, outlook, and explains why he sees so many issues "from the laboring man's viewpoint."

THE *Saturday Evening Post* epic on Warren was entitled "Man with a New Broom," and told how the governor "has found time to sweep out the capitol, long the battlefield of California's amazing and extraordinary legion of isms, as only a man with a new broom can do." Let's see what was swept out by the man whom some of America's leading defeatists like to picture as the next Vice President. His first act on taking office was to remove C. J. Haggerty, then state president of the AFL, from a minor post. Within a week he discharged George Kidwell, and Carey McWilliams, who had made the state department of industrial relations and the divisions of immigration and housing effective, functioning departments for the first time in twenty years. Warren went along with a reactionary, anti-labor, Republican legislature in allowing the most drastic relaxation of child labor and school attendance laws yet achieved by any state legislature. He signed a bill, almost identical with others previously declared unconstitutional, aimed directly at forcing the Communist Party off the ballot by requiring political parties to have as registered members a number considerably higher than the current Communist registration. And Warren signed appropriations for the infamous "Little Dies" committee of State Sen. Jack Tenney, who has kept constantly busy smearing progressive organizations and making racist attacks on Mexican-Americans and Japanese-Americans.

Whatever "isms" Warren's vaunted new broom has swept out, it has never touched fascism. The very word "fascism" is not a part of his vocabulary. He never discusses the nature of the war, or speaks of unconditional surrender. Until he endorsed the all-things-to-all-men Republican Mackinac conference resolution—and he didn't do that until Dewey had done so—Warren had scarcely mentioned the war, or world cooperation after the war. On every vital war issue he has remained silent, contenting himself with speaking of postwar plans, which he limits largely to defense of California: "preparation for disaster" is a favorite topic of his.

A goodly chunk of California's population, whose electoral votes will dominate the West, is made up of organized workers. And the California CIO convention in October represented 180,000 of them. This convention declared that Warren must be judged "against the backdrop of a national election in 1944 whose outcome will be crucial to the war and to the peace, to America and to the world." The delegates found that the Republicans had selected California as one of the major battlegrounds "on which to try to defeat the people's aspirations in 1944." And Warren, they added, will be "the Hoover faction's Rommel" of that battle.

The CIO pointed out that Warren has allowed the state agencies to drag their feet so far as the war effort is concerned. Virtually no effort has been made either by Warren or any state agency to assist in such problems as manpower, child care, and transportation. With the bulk of the nation's aircraft plants and nearly half the nation's shipyards in California, Warren announced that the special legislative session for January was to be limited to—prison reform! Only under severe pressure did he broaden the agenda to include the soldier vote.

Meanwhile, behind the shibboleth of "states' rights," Warren has attacked the Roosevelt administration and the federal war agencies. He went so far as to charge General Hershey with discriminating against California in the draft of fathers—a charge which Hershey took seriously enough to answer, putting the governor in a somewhat ridiculous light.

Actually Warren, who was sold to the California voters as a "non-partisan" candidate for governor and was called by Wendell Willkie "one of the great governors," was groomed for years by the Associated Farmers and the most reactionary industrial interests for his present role. Since taking office he repeatedly has favored the corporate agricultural interests, the milk monopoly, and the private power interests.

Whether or not the defeatist GOP strategists give him the vice presidential nomination, Earl Warren, as the man picked to carry California for the reactionary wing of the Republican Party in 1944, remains a dangerous man. GOP chances in this state were enhanced last year when Roger Lapham, shipowner and Hoover Republican, was elected mayor of San Francisco in another "non-partisan" campaign which obscured his defeatist ties. Today the combination of Warren and Lapham makes it more essential than ever for California Democrats to conduct a strenuous battle in support of President Roosevelt's war policies. It is not too much to say that the coming 1944 struggle between Warren and Lapham on one hand and the supporters of the President on the other will play an important part in determining America's future course in the war and in the peace.

MANY of the burdens of seeing to it that the November 1944 elections return to Congress and the nation's public offices those who really speak for the people will rest upon the unions. One of the staunchest champions and workers for trade unionism was Morris U. Schappes, still in prison on a rigged up charge. Write or write again to Gov. Thomas E. Dewey at Albany, N. Y. and insist that he pardon this uncompromising anti-fascist.

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TO MAKE PHILOSOPHY USEFUL

By HOWARD SELSAM

THE widespread interest aroused by the recent controversy about George Santayana in the pages of the NEW MASSES is perhaps a symptom of the growing interest in philosophy in America. The possibilities of a wider appreciation and awareness of philosophical problems have always existed, but they got little nourishment from the professional philosophers. In our colleges and universities philosophy has been carefully guarded, primarily in the interests of religious orthodoxy up to about 1880 and since then of social and political orthodoxy. Up until 1880 there were almost no teachers of philosophy in American educational institutions who were not clergymen, and presidents of their colleges in the bargain. It was considered an exceedingly dangerous subject, especially for immature minds, and was limited almost entirely to college seniors. When there were not native-born Americans who could meet the rigid qualifications of Christian orthodoxy, Scotch realists were imported to teach our youth. One of the rare exceptions, Thomas Cooper, friend of Jefferson and refugee from British reaction against the French Revolution, had to resign his post at the College of South Carolina after the protests of irate parents and a trial by the legislature on "heresy" charges. Among the people, however, there was a widespread interest in philosophical questions from the period of the American Revolution through the administrations of Thomas Jefferson, the foremost philosopher-statesman in American history.

Although from the days of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, published by the St. Louis Hegelians through the seventies and eighties of the last century, and the work of Peirce, James, Royce, Dewey, and many others, there has been considerable philosophical activity in America, it has failed to reach any significant body of people. College philosophy departments have on the whole been forlorn stepchildren and have pretty steadily declined in registration and influence in recent years. In most cases the philosophy department's life or death depended on having one or more courses put on the required list. At the turn of the century, Thomas Davidson began teaching philosophy to New York workers, but his efforts were doomed to failure, concentrated as they were on winning his wage-earner audiences away from materialism and socialism. The Rand School in its early days taught many courses in philosophy to thousands of workers, but these have dwindled down to the point where the work of an educational anachronism is limited to a course by a philosophical anachronism, Bertrand Russell. The Workers School, which actually carried on the traditions for which the Rand School was founded, offered work in the history of philosophy and in dialectical and historical materialism.

Perhaps the key to the problem of teaching philosophy in America is that philosophy cannot be both "safe" and significant at the same time. It would be hard to find a more confusing, more idealist, and more anti-scientific book than Hocking's *Types of Philosophy* which the present writer had to use as an introductory text for ten years. It was certainly not calculated to make American college students interested in philosophy. Prof. Henry Cobb's clear, scientific, and progressive text *Man's Way*, which Longman's, Green brought out two years ago, has difficulty in getting a hearing with college philosophy departments.

BUT conditions are changing rapidly. Last year the American Philosophical Association received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for a "Commission on the Function of Philosophy in Liberal Education." The task of this commission is "to reexamine thoroughly the nature and function of philosophy in higher education and in general culture, and to study ways and means of reorganizing the teaching of philosophy in order to make the contribution of philosophy to the post-war world most effective." To achieve its purpose the commission is canvassing the profession and holding regional meetings of philosophers and other interested persons "to discuss what philosophy means at present to the community and what it should mean, especially in the days to come." One of these meetings was held in Boston in February of this year, and judging by a report in the February 19 New York *Herald Tribune*, considerable fur flew. President Julius Seelye Bixler of Colby College said that the philosophers were "prodded to do this by the evil state into which philosophy as a college subject has fallen." In the course of this meeting it was observed "that courses languish with only a few students, while those that remain are apt to be impatient with the remoteness of the issues treated," and that students came to their philosophy classes with eager questions on the great issues of life and death and were given all too often a "dusty answer." Symbolic logic received undue attention because in part it offered a means of escape. "An attack was also made on what was called the deadly objectivity of contemporary philosophical teaching. Students have said they are tired of this perpetual open-mindedness. . . ." It was generally concluded that philosophy teachers "cannot afford to provoke students' distrust by attempting to force beliefs on them, but repudiation of all convictions and unwillingness to accept any belief as worthwhile may itself represent a kind of intellectual arrogance." (I am reminded of one philosophy teacher who complained last year that he couldn't teach his students the superiority of democracy because his neighbor philosopher in the next room thought fascism was superior—and how was one to decide?)

All this is exceedingly refreshing and encouraging, but a great deal more must be done before it penetrates our country's philosophy classrooms. Not only are new texts needed, but perhaps even a new generation of philosophy teachers. Meanwhile, outside our universities philosophy teaching is advancing and is reaching increasing numbers of adults in all walks of life. Of the new people's schools that have sprung up across the country in the last three years, most teach one or more courses in philosophy. The California Labor School (formerly the Tom Mooney School) has two courses in progress, the Abraham Lincoln School of Chicago four, and the Jefferson School in New York during its first term had 351 students in seven courses, and plans an expanded philosophy program next fall.

WHAT conclusions may be drawn from this failure of philosophy in our colleges, the serious attempt to change this situation on the part of the American Philosophical Association, and the tremendous interest in philosophy manifested by students in the new centers of adult education? The first is that, as Marx once wrote, philosophy will be realized by a people only when it expresses their interests and needs. In other words, that people will go to philosophy when it is willing to go to them with the aim of clarifying their problems and guiding their action along rational lines. It is not too much to say that President Roosevelt and Vice President Wallace, through their development of the doctrine of the four freedoms and its application to the Atlantic Charter and to a new bill of economic rights, have made

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the most important contribution of this generation to real philosophical thought in America. For the professional philosophers remains the task of clarifying and interpreting these ideas, enriching and enlarging them by developing the history of the idea of freedom and the historical theoretical struggles over the material foundations of the good life. This would make a welcome substitute for dry discussions of worn-out and hackneyed problems such as "free will," the ontological argument, the reality or unreality of evil, and whether or not we can know that other human beings exist.

A second conclusion is that if philosophy is to achieve the desirable objectives set before itself by the American Philosophical Association's commission, philosophers must stand four-square behind science and scientific method (and not too far behind). Too much of our philosophy today is idealist and obscurantist, looking askance at the findings and methods of the sciences, both natural and social, preferring ecstasy as Hegel put it, to the "march of cold necessity in the subject matter." The philosophies of Hume and Bergson, for example, must give way to philosophies that accord with our practical experience and science. The luxury of holding to a realm of value or essence over and above the concrete world of fact must give way to a concrete scientific approach to value problems in closest relation to the actual desirable objectives of human social life.

A third conclusion has to do especially with the teaching of the history of philosophy. Philosophical history must be considered not as the successive development by "pure thought" of diverse individual views of the universe, but as firmly rooted in society and a product and expression of social forces and movements. All the great philosophers become meaningful only when this is done, only when they are properly placed in their social-historical setting. John Locke, for example, takes on an entirely new meaning when treated as a representative of the new English bourgeoisie, in Locke's own words, "employed as an under-laborer in clearing the ground a little, and removing some of the rubbish that lies in the way to knowledge." Seen in this light his difficulties over our knowledge of the world of nature appear as limitations of his method and approach rather than as "eternal" problems of human knowledge. This leaves us with the task of carrying on Locke's work of explaining knowledge as a natural process, and not with an *insoluble* problem of "our knowledge of the external world." Whereas the first conclusion I have set forth involves bringing philosophy down to earth by integrating it with our actual contemporary problems, this one requires the presentation of all philosophy as arising from the earth and the problems of given social groups in particular historical situations.

One further conclusion is that philosophers must clarify themselves on the great issues of democracy and progress, of war and peace. They must carry their citizenship into their studies and classrooms in order to secure a unified and philosophical approach to the problems of the day. Students, both college and adult, will listen to them to the extent that they can help realistically to clarify the issues of the war, the problems of national unity, and the course necessary to "banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations." The materials for achieving this are abundant in the history of philosophy, but the great ideals of man and the good life must be reinterpreted and reworked to meet the conditions and opportunities of the world today. To sum up, the teaching of philosophers will be transformed to the extent that they look upon philosophy as an instrument for human progress and not as a mere passive speculative interpretation of reality.

Dr. Howard Selsam, author of "What Is Philosophy" and "Socialism and Ethics," has been teaching philosophy for fourteen years. He is director of the Jefferson School of Social Science, which is registering pupils next week for its summer term. There are classes in History, Economics, Trade Unionism, Psychology, Music, the Arts, and, of course, Philosophy.

IN PASSING . . .

Washington.

CHAIRMAN HARRY MILLIS of the National Labor Relations Board sends the other two members around to congressional committees to testify on the ground that his health is bad. But people who worked with him ten years ago said he complained of ill health then, too, but worked ten hours a day, and still does. Some of his finest opinions have been written of late, they point out—many of them dissents from majority opinions which, the CIO maintains, "reflects a retreat from the basic policies and principles underlying the National Labor Relations Act."

The CIO named board member Gerard Reilly as responsible for a series of such decisions and rulings. An example is the decision in the foremen's case which provoked the recent strikes. Reilly back in 1941 dissented when the board upheld the right of mine supervisors to organize. But with the makeup of the board changing, he was able to win a majority in the Maryland Dry Dock case in May 1943, the board held that foremen had no right to organize under the act. Millis strongly dissented.

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FORMAL State Department language can sound twice as nasty as any ordinary speech. "Police protection and surveillance will be afforded them until they leave," and "they are expected to remain in their homes except for the purpose of exercise . . ." are phrases that contain no bad words, but they sound mighty cold. Applied to Hjalmar Procope and his family and three counsellors (one the unpleasant Mr. Poivola, red-haired press adviser), with the news that Procope is waiting passport in hand to leave the country on our request, they sounded fully nasty enough to cause jubilation in many a Washingtonian's heart.

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THE FEPC from July 1, 1943, to April 3, 1944, docketed 3,419 cases, of which 2,286 were closed. Approximately forty percent of the total closed represented satisfactory adjustments by negotiation. There were 1,861 involving race discrimination of which 1,245 involved charges made against industry, 709 against government agencies, and 172 against unions. Others involved national origin, 144 in all, and creed, of which there were 220 cases.

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THE Railway Labor Executives Association, representing twenty railway brotherhoods, has recommended to their members endorsement of John Smithwick, who has filed as an opponent of Rep. E. E. (Goober) Cox of Georgia. With Dies of Texas and Smith of Virginia Cox long has controlled the powerful and reactionary rules committee, which has customarily given a rule promptly to all anti-labor legislation. Smithwick is a former Representative from Florida, now practicing law in Georgia.

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SEN. CLAUDE PEPPER was all set to make a speech on the floor of the Senate last Thursday on the so-called southern "revolt" or what is known more simply as the electoral college steal plot. News of the bombing of Japan led him to change his subject, but he was expected to speak on the situation in Texas, Mississippi, South Carolina, and so on within the next few days.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

The French Deadlock

IF ALL the flumdummery, all the charges and countercharges, the reproofs and grievances are cut away from the central issues it should be clear that the paramount reason for prompt and unequivocal recognition of the French provisional government lies in the need to bring a maximum of force and morale against the enemy. Our fighting men have enough obstacles to hurdle without having thrust upon them in addition the ineptness and private politics of shortsighted men in Washington. Recognition in this instance is a diplomatic weapon every bit as useful in the struggle against the enemy as a fleet of bombers or tanks. For us to act boldly in the military sphere and then pursue an utterly confusing and dismaying policy politically is to dilute the effectiveness of our arms. That is the bitter truth about the gambler's game some people think they can play with the French people. In its aftermath it brings only resentment and not the friendship so essential to the success of our military enterprise.

The contention that the French people have not had the opportunity to choose the Liberation Committee as the administrators of their civil life is true if one thinks that such choices can only be made in the comfort of a voting booth. But in a country occupied by the foe the expression of national will is not so simple: it expresses itself by sabotage, by organized resistance and by an underground leadership which in the case of France has fully endorsed the authority of Algiers. But if logic is ruthlessly pursued, then there is even less ground for Washington's position. If Frenchmen have not yet had the chance to approve De Gaulle's government, as Washington insists, neither has there been any approval in France of Washington's attitude towards that government. In fact, the evidence is overwhelmingly to the contrary, to judge only by the great reception which greeted De Gaulle during his visit to the Norman beachhead.

Recognition is not a personal favor to De Gaulle, nor does it involve the question of what irritating personality traits De Gaulle may possess. It is only quislings who are complacent, Anthony Eden once remarked. But what is involved is the progress of the war and speeding it to a successful conclusion. And what alternative to the provisional government is there? Of course it is always possible that among the men of our diplomatic apparatus there may be those who have alternatives in their back pockets and are a little too frightened to produce them now, but might do so when we have taken Paris. In that event the civil strife that we must prevent at all cost would hit our troops squarely in the face. The French are too proud and too great a people to be kicked around by polished toes. The only alternative to the deadlock is realism and the French provisional government is as real as the partisans who support it.

A Ghost Goes to Chicago

WENDELL WILLKIE seems determined to be the liveliest political ghost in the country. After the GOP high command had buried him with proper ceremonies in April, he has now bounded back with a series of articles that will haunt the party chieftains throughout the Republican national convention next week—and beyond. Mr. Willkie's articles, which have been published in newspapers throughout the country, are a restatement and amplification of those vigorous, progressive ideas on international and domestic affairs which have won him a wide following. Couched in the form of proposals to the Republican platform committee, these articles, as Mr. Willkie must himself be aware, are likely to make a far greater dent on the people than on the defeatists and diehards who will manipulate the GOP convention.

Mr. Willkie's opening article on federal power versus states' rights is a direct challenge to the leading contender for the Republican nomination, Governor Dewey, who has been trying to rehabilitate states' rights into an issue. Mr. Willkie insists that a strong central government is indispensable for solving the complex national and international problems that face our country today. Unfortunately he weakens his argument by partisan carping such as marred his recent campaign speeches. When he tries to make it appear that the administration is ruling by caprice and is opposed to "government by law," he is stooping to pick up an issue that is no less phony than that of states' rights. It is men like Sewell Avery and his abettors in the Republican leadership and among the anti-Roosevelt Democrats who are trying to upset government by law, and Mr. Willkie knows it.

In his discussion of Negro rights, labor, social security, and the economic problems of demobilization Mr. Willkie has expressed a more consistent point of view. He calls for passage of anti-poll tax and anti-lynching legislation and points to "the economic advances and social gains which have come to Negroes during the past twelve years"; he praises the Wagner-Murray-Dingell social security bill while suggesting its improvement; he concedes that the administration has taken cognizance of the changed character of labor's needs in modern industrial society, whereas the Republican Party has not, and advocates a guaranteed annual wage, a high postwar wage level, and continuation and extension of labor-management cooperation. On demobilization Mr. Willkie urges a realistic adjustment on the basis of private enterprise to the new world that will emerge out of the war rather than an attempt to return to the status quo ante.

Thus the platform that Mr. Willkie proposes is a close approximation, despite differences of emphasis and detail, to the platform of Franklin D. Roosevelt. This is not because Mr. Willkie is at heart a Democrat—in fact, certain Democrats, the Byrds, Wheelers, and O'Daniels, would oppose this platform as bitterly as the Hoovers, Tafts, and Vandenbergs in control of the Republican Party. What Mr. Willkie's substantial agreement with the President means is that he is at heart a patriot and a man who understands the imperatives of our age. We are confident that many Republicans who share Mr. Willkie's views are going to put patriotism above partisanship and work for the re-election of FDR.

Hurry, Hurry, Hurry!

BERNARD BARUCH's plea to "Hurry, hurry, hurry!" on the crucial issues of reconversion may well be heeded by our legislators. These issues are among the most critical in our national life today; the failure to grapple with them imperils the all-out requirements of war, and casts a bleak pall over the approaches to the postwar era. Mr. Baruch's felicitous phrase "an adventure in prosperity" may remain mere words unless Congress and the nation as a whole tackle the question of orderly conversion from war to peace production, and arrive immediately at practical solutions.

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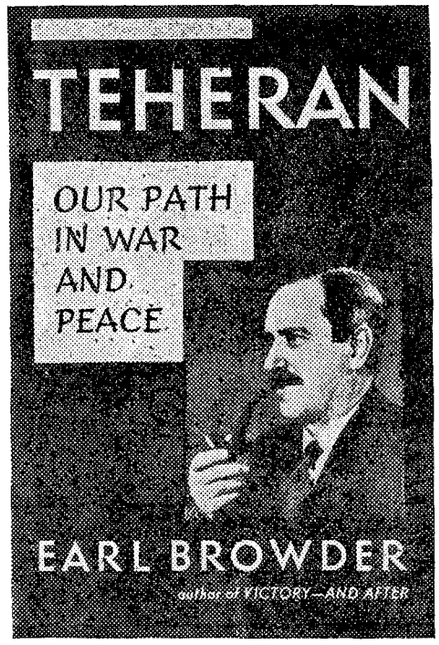
The facts are that employment in the durable goods industries, devoted chiefly to war products, has declined by almost half a million since last fall's peak. If victory over Hitler occurs before the year's close—and the invasion raises such hopes—four to five million workers may be dismissed from war industry. The recent events at Brewster spelled a warning that must be heeded by the nation, which should acquaint itself with the bills now before Congress on these questions, and act accordingly.

Two bills have been in the forefront for legislative consideration: the Kilgore and Murray-George measures. We prefer the former because of its all-over administrative provisions, which include labor-industry - government - agrarian representation chosen by the President, and accord adequate authority to the director. The Kilgore bill contains unemployment compensation, training, employment and transport service to the dismissed workers. The Murray-George measure is weaker in a number of respects, particularly in consideration of the human element of reconversion, as well as in providing only consultative cooperation between the representatives of labor, management, and government. The Kilgore bill, moreover, sets the sights higher on unemployment insurance. It asks for as high as thirty-five dollars a week, whereas the Murray-George bill provides a twenty-dollar top for a period of only twenty-six weeks—scarcely an improvement over current jobless benefits.

Many unionists were disappointed when War Mobilization Director James F. Byrnes, this past week, supported the Murray-George bill and indicated that Congress would probably take action only on contract termination before the summer recess. That he failed to stress the immediate human urgencies is perturbing to many.

Matters looked up, however, after Mayor La Guardia came down to Washington at the head of a delegation representing 600,000 New York unionists, to testify before the Senate Military Affairs Committee. The Mayor heartily endorsed the Kilgore bill, and also introduced many other first-rate ideas for postwar prosperity. Encouraging was the following: that both Senators Murray and George indicated to members of the La Guardia delegation that they would favor altering their bill to include some of the Kilgore proposals: namely, that the agency be a joint labor-management-government setup, chosen by the President, and given adequate power to act. This willingness to cooperate raised hopes that the proponents of both measures would arrive at agreement to present one bill to Congress for action. Senator Murray, incidentally, urged that national pressure be brought upon the Senate as a whole to act upon these measures. A word to the wise. . . .



A Theory for Our Time

ALL climactic and critical periods in the life of a nation require great, forward looking leaders, a unified people and an intellectual compass to guide the country through the fog of conflicting opinions. In the past such leaders have come to the helm and there have been books which illuminated the road of march. In this the most trying era of our history we again have men of vision and sense and again we have a book which for its foresight and its brilliance stands above the torrent of blue prints and postwar schemes as the Washington Monument towers over the corner garage. That book is Earl Browder's *Teheran: Our Path in War and Peace.*

Its remarkable quality is its author's ability to remember the headlines and yet not be lost in them, in his singular capacity to find that link in the chain of speeding events which lifts the whole of our national and international life to the place it deserves. That link, obvious from the book's title, is Teheran. Not only does the President of the Communist Political Association see in Teheran the fact of a new relationship between ourselves and the world but the promise of a future richer, more democratic, and more humane than anything mankind has known heretofore. Mr. Browder's marshalling of logic, of argument, his portrayal of the evidence are in themselves an achievement giving the reader an exhilirating experience as he moves from chapter to chapter. It is the work of a full-blown Marxist whose partisanship consists only of his devotion to the interests of his country and whose anger and massive intellectual equipment are brought to bear only on those who would betray those interests. But more, the book is a knife with which to cut the fetters of dogmatic and formalistic thinking, a scalpel to excise prejudice by introducing science in the conduct of public affairs.

This book belongs to all the people. It is not a book for Communists alone. It is designed to make what some consider impossible, possible. It is designed to arm the whole nation for the battles ahead; it is designed to create that confidence in the future that grows from an understanding of the world we live in. It is designed to ward off catastrophe because of sluggishness in thought; it is designed to stimulate ideas and action in dealing with the realities of our generation. It is a book which no one who has any stake in the happiness and welfare of all Americans can do without.

Flank Attack on OPA

IF YOU cannot win by a head-on attack, try the flanks: that seems to be the conclusion Republican strategists arrived at in their assaults on the extension of the economic stabilization act. Jesse P. Wolcott (R., Mich.) is trying to jam a bill through which contains only the less obviously crippling amendments—but crippling none the less. The current strategy seems to skirt such flagrant inflationary measures as the Bankhead amendment and the broad Smith amendments affecting the War Labor Board as well as price and rent control. Thus, the GOP tacticians hope, a Presidential veto might be avoided, inasmuch as the President would find it harder to win support for a veto if the amendments sound innocuous and complicated.

One of the mild-sounding amendments which passed the House was Wolcott's own little contribution. It would nullify OPA's authority to suspend a dealer's license because of price or rationing violations. It would remove one of OPA's most effective weapons in enforcement, OPA Enforcement Chief Tom Emerson has said.

As the bill went to conference trade union and consumers groups' spokesmen were urging the conferees to kill all amendments. The Senate-passed Bankhead amendment lifting cotton textile ceilings was defeated in the House and there was a chance the amendment opening OPA orders to challenge and review in the courts would be knocked out in conference. The review amendment is one of the flagrant variety well recognized by the public, but Rep. Everett M. (Dinner Pail) Dirksen (R., Ill.), who is being plugged by some for Republican vice presidential nominee, was determined to push it. The Dirksen amendment would result in the Sewell Averys rushing into court, Chicago *Tribune* editorial writers working overtime while enforcement was held up awaiting court decisions.

As to Wolcott, he has of course perennially fostered whole series of paralyzing amendments, but he made headlines for opposing some of the "worst" or best-known amendments. This incidentally re-

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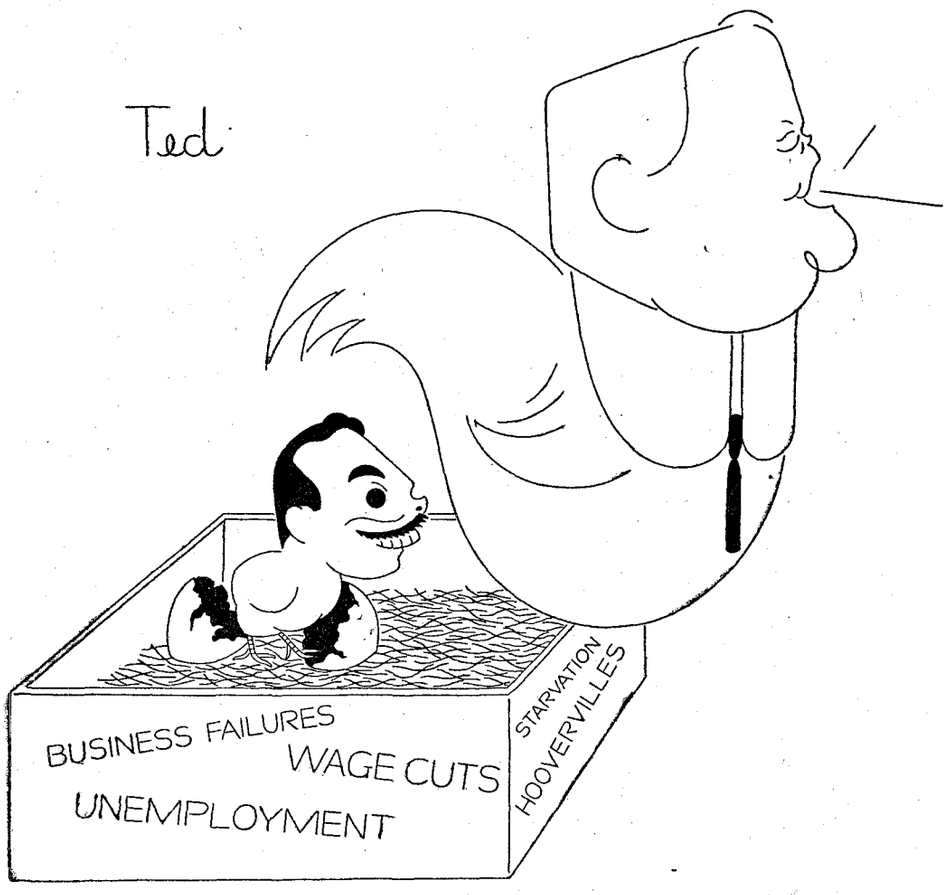

"Cock-a-Dewey'll Do!"

moved some of the onus attached to the Republicans as chief axe-men of price control. Wolcott is ranking minority member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, which, thanks to its chairman, Democratic Brent Spence of Kentucky, and a majority of anti-inflation members, failed to recommend the sweeping proposals that would virtually scuttle price and rent control such as were proposed by the Smith Committee. Rep. Howard Smith, Virginia poll-taxer, one of the triumvirate controlling the Rules Committee, got a rule making the entire string of amendments germane. The House, however, in an almost unprecedented revolution against the arrogant little Rules Committee clique, and possibly in a sterner mood than usual because of the invasion, voted not to uphold the Rules Committee. The vote was 153 against the obstructionists, and sixty-four for them, with Chairman Sabath (D., Ill.) of the Rules Committee, Spence and Speaker Rayburn leading the successful fight. Even though it was made on the basis of protecting the rights of the Spence committee, a legislative committee, against a power grab by a procedural committee, it was a healthy revolt against the Smith-Dies-Cox hierarchy in the Rules Committee, which works hand-in-glove with Hamilton Fish, Clarence Brown (R., O.) and other Republicans.

For Common Justice

AN APPEAL for unconditional pardon has been sent to President Roosevelt in the cases of Frank Fisher, Jr., and Edward R. Loury, the two Negro soldiers who were originally sentenced to life imprisonment in Noumea, New Caledonia, on a trumped-up charge of rape. The appeal is signed by Congressman Vito Marcantonio and Dean William H. Hastie as counsel for the two men. Their earlier application to the War Department for clemency resulted in a reduction of the sentence to ten and eight years for Fisher and Loury respectively.

The records of this case, one of the most flagrant miscarriages of justice during the war, make it evident that the convicted men were innocent of the charge of rape brought against them. As the letter to the President indicates, "The circumstances in their cases show simply liaison with a woman of loose morals, who during the tryst sought seclusion from passersby rather than their assistance, who accepted pay for her favors and who herself initiated a complaint against them." The men were apparently falsely accused by a white officer, under brutal third degree during their confinement and subjected to a court martial in which the principles of common justice were denied. Nothing in the record indicates that Fisher and Loury were anything other than good American soldiers. It is known that their most fervent wish is to return to the fighting front.

The importance of this case, however, lies beyond the question of injustice in this particular instance, important as that may be. There is a widespread belief among Negro troops and among the American people in general that equality of justice is denied Negroes in our armed forces. Discrimination is practiced in the military courts as well as in other phases of army life. It is evident from the recent questioning in Parliament that this impression is widely shared by the British public. Unfortunately it is altogther too easy to substantiate that impression from the record of countless cases of judicial bias.

"The need for the highest morale among all Americans at this hour of liberation," the appeal to the President reads, "demands removal of any reasonable doubt that Negro soldiers receive justice and fair pay while serving America in her struggle for victory." All Americans will want to aid in such a cause. They may do so by notifying the International Labor Defense, of which Congressman Marcantonio is president, that they wish their names or those of the organizations which they represent to be set to the appeal for unconditional pardon for Fisher and Loury.

No Limits on Rescue

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT has taken an important step toward extending our country's efforts to rescue refugees from the Hitler tyranny by announcing that a camp for 1,000 refugees would be set up at Fort Ontario, Oswego, N. Y. The biggest rescue job is, of course, now in progress on the beaches of France, on the Soviet front, and in Italy above Rome—for only the military destruction of Hitlerism can end the terror that menaces millions of Europeans, particularly those who are Jews. Nevertheless, thousands do manage to escape, and since the Allied invasion of Italy they have been streaming into that country in increasing numbers. Some have been shifted to camps in North Africa whose capacity is now being increased from 25,000 to 40,000. Over 40,000 are being cared for in the Middle East by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

With the establishment by Presidential order in January of the War Refugee Board a new impetus was given to the rescue work. "Not only have refugees been evacuated from enemy territory," the President states in a special message to Congress, "but many measures have been taken to protect the lives of those who have not been able to escape." And now a further measure has been taken by which the United States will directly share the re-

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sponsibility of providing a temporary haven for refugees. Undoubtedly this will meet with the approval of the overwhelming majority of Americans.

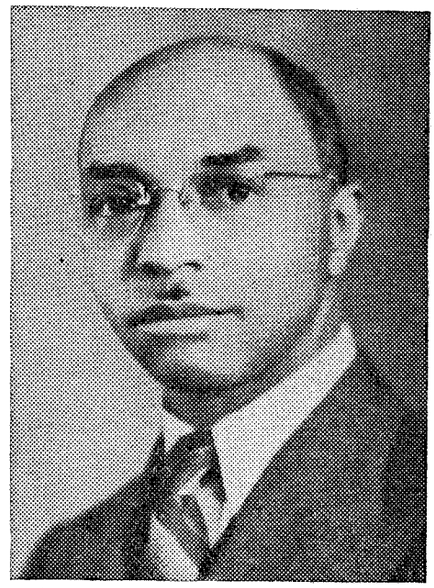
The establishment of the camp at Fort Ontario is a first step. Congress now has the duty of supplementing this with action to set up "free ports," to which refugees can be admitted outside immigration quotas. Hearings are being held by the House Committee on Immigration on a number of resolutions toward this end. We urge speedy passage of HR 576, introduced by Rep. Samuel Dickstein, which calls on the President to establish "free ports" by executive order and would set no limit on the number who could receive temporary refuge in the United States.

GUEST EDITORIAL

By James Egbert Allen

VICTORY NEEDS THE NEGRO

Mr. Allen is president of the New York State Association, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.



WE STAND at the crossroads in human relations today. The impact of the mighty people's war against fascism, last week so dramatically climaxed by the invasion of Europe and by the investiture of Rome as one of the three seats of the fascist power, has focused in sharp relief the path we have tried to follow in our past relations to a large segment of our American population. At the present moment at home we are in a dilemma trying to reconcile our high principles of justice and equality with practices of injustice and inequality. A review of recent events in our national life will show that the forces of democracy are arising from their beds of lethargy and springing into action.

Liberty, justice, and equality are not just high sounding phrases, but are profound principles which must be ingrained in the fabric of the nation and its people. The thought must strike home today that there are Americans of many races and colors and religions who are entitled to our heritage of freedom of mind and body. To many of these people the American way of life has been tragic and inconsistent. They tremble to think of a postwar world when they muse over the history of the past. They are loath to wait for the basic rights which have too long been denied to them.

But today a new light is in their eyes, a new determination is in their hearts, and new and firmer attitudes are arising from the ashes of despair. This is especially true of the Negro American who is witnessing the beginning of the end of some of his most acute problems. In the skies over Europe and Africa, his sable sons are winging through the air to victory. In Alaska, colored warriors have blazed a pathway to safeguard our country from invasion. In the south seas he is laboring, fighting, and dying in the primeval jungles alongside his white brother. He is on the high seas helping to save humanity from the fascists. On the home front the morale of the people has been raised to an effective point and many a war bond has been added by the Negro to finance the war. His contributions have helped to swell the funds of all the drives for the organizations which are aiding the armed forces and he has given generously of his time in volunteer work for the war effort.

This American is watching eagerly as our nation selects the road for future travel. He is willing to continue the journey provided the way offers equal opportunity and uncompromising justice to all the people. Sustaining him are the powerful forces of organized labor and a goodly proportion of the liberal and fair minded white Americans. They want to see him integrated in every phase of our national life. These forces are supporting him to the hilt in his robust onslaught against unequal education, discriminatory suffrage, and outright denial of the opportunity for work on a basis of merit and ability. The Supreme Court decision in the Texas primary case, the far reaching significance of the work of the FEPC and the interracial and intercultural advancements are landmarks pointing out the beginning of the end of the inconsistencies in our national life.

The Negro is uniting his ranks in great organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Negro Labor Victory Committee. His voice is being heard across the nations from such great gatherings as the Negro Freedom Rally this month. He is arousing the country to a sense of its obligations to deal justly with all ethnic groups. He is attempting to give full meaning to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Teheran Declaration. As America goes so goes the world, is a statement that is fraught with hope and pregnant with our responsibilities towards world peace. The peoples of the South Pacific, the millions of China, India, and Africa and the unfortunate peoples of Europe are turning their eyes to America.

The coming elections, undoubtedly the most vital and historic which have ever been held in our country, are crucial to the Negro. Combinations of reactionaries are organizing themselves with a program of trying to wipe out whatever gains have been made under the present administration by the Negro. I believe, though, that the forces of labor, the Negroes, and the liberals generally are strong enough to defeat them if they weld an unshatterable unity in their ranks. It will be a terrible struggle, for the reactionaries are leaving nothing undone in their attempt to frustrate the just aspirations of the nation's minorities. Distinct advances have been made, as we said, in the long term struggle for the rights of the Negro. Now we're confronted with the situation of not only maintaining these rights but of actually expanding them, realizing them, in other words, in the terms of the great declarations of principles under which we are fighting.

For myself, and I wish to clarify the fact that I am writing here as an individual and not as the spokesman of any group or organization. I see no other hope for the Negro people other than the reelection of President Roosevelt. I mean that I see no one looming up on the other side of the fence who measures up to him.

Naturally it will be necessary to think of the election not only of the President, but also of those people who will sit in Congress to help carry out his policies in their entirety if possible. We have an opportunity, fortunately, in Harlem this year to send a Negro to the next Congress.

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Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., who sat in the City Council of New York—I say "sat" advisedly because he surely made himself heard on every issue which affected the people of the city and he "pulled no punches" when it came to matters that were closest to the hearts of the Negro people is a worthy candidate to represent the 22nd Congressional District.

The Supreme Court has spoken boldly and clearly on the Texas primaries. Its decision will affect all the southern states which are guilty of the same undemocratic practices in the procedures of their elections. Things are moving now in Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina. Great credit is due Professor Towns of Atlanta who led a thousand registrants to the door of voting opportunity. A resident of Birmingham has informed me that in his city colored citizens are determined to exercise their rights to the ballot. Citizens in the capital of the Palmetto state will march to the polling places at the next election.

Surely the time is ripe now for political schools to spring into action to train the people of these southern states in the use of the ballot as the most fundamental weapon to bring about true democracy the nation over. Every civic and social agency in Dixie should launch a program around the use of the ballot. Simple informative little pamphlets such as the one prepared by the CIO Political Action Committee should be placed in the hands of the black and white voters of the south. In the most remote village, through the whole countryside, this new emancipation proclamation must be heard.

Too long have a favored few held the reins of government in this land which has refused to recognize the right of real suffrage. The South needs more than one political party. It needs a wider selection of candidates for office. War ballots must be sent to our sons and daughters in the armed forces. The voting strength must be increased.

There are about 80,000,000 prospective voters in the United States, but only 50,000,000 voted in the last presidential election. We have the grave responsibility of bringing out the whole electorate this coming election. A new concept of democracy may be realized if we can bring the other 30,000,000 out to the polls. The strength of the common man can burst the economic, social, and political bonds which have enthralled him for these many long and bitter years.

Let us be conscious of the very positive gains we have made. Negroes have been commissioned as officers in the United States Navy, a die-hard like Joe Starnes has been swept out of his congressional seat, Martin Dies will not be in the next Congress. More bigots of this type are slated to go if organized labor has anything to say about the coming elections and from all evidences thus far, organized labor will have a great deal to say about who will be making the laws of the nation in the coming years.

Men and issues are the primary consideration, not party. It seems to me that the CIO has wisely placed the fourth term for the President and the election of his supporters to the Congress as one of its major tasks in the coming months. I feel that the Negro people have matured tremendously in a political sense, especially since the issues of the war have been brought home to them, will understand the election in its proper historical perspective, and that they see how vital it is to cast their ballots in the greatest numbers they have ever voted for President and other elective offices. The Negro Freedom Rally will help accomplish this. Therefore, it is important to us and to America.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

THE B-29 VS. THE WINGED BOMB

As we write the announcement has been made that American troops have cut off the Cotentin Peninsula and that German troops are bottled up in Cherbourg. The forthcoming battle for Cherbourg will mark an important step in the invasion—the securing of a great port which will make our troops independent of "small-boat weather." Thus from now on the main fighting front where sizeable armies will be locked in battle is destined to run from Caen to Avranches, at the head of the Bay St. Michel. However, this front, some seventy miles long, will hardly engage more than a dozen divisions on each side and, therefore, it is quite clear that new landings, perhaps even in greater force, are to be expected. This expectation forces the Germans to hesitate in introducing their strategic reserve into battle and is the simple explanation for the apparent German operational sluggishness.

The Germans have launched their "secret weapon": a winged bomb, jet-motor propelled and started from a "roller-coaster" device. The weapon is very annoying but, militarily speaking, destined to failure. It cannot be aimed. It cannot be used with success against any target except a large, vague area. There appears to be no reason to worry about it too much. On the other hand its appearance, viewed in connection with the Germans' use of robot tanks, is a sign that the enemy is very short of specialized manpower. The extensive use of robot weapons is not a healthy sign for the army which employs them. Dr. Goebbels is, of course, telling Nazidom that England lies in ruins—a boast which may give German morale a shot in the arm until it turns out that the winged firecracker is as formidable as Dr. Goebbel's Atlantic Wall.

In Italy the enemy continues to flee northward and in most sectors our troops have not been able to establish contact with his rearguard. It is very doubtful that the Germans will be able to make a serious stand on the Florentine line. It seems to be the Alps for Kesselring—if he survives his fiasco.

After landing on Elba, French troops are battling the German garrison while American troops are approaching Piombino on the mainland opposite Elba. In view of the fact that, strangely enough, no French troops are taking part in the liberation of Normandy, it would be interesting if French troops from Elba were destined to reenact Napoleon's dash from the Island to southern France during his famous comeback of the "100 days."

The Soviet offensive on the Karelian Isthmus is fast racing to a climax, which will be the taking of Viborg. The coastal fortress of Koivisto has been captured and the main fortified line broken. It is worth bearing in mind that the Karelian offensive, in number of troops and material involved, is a good equivalent to our operations in Normandy. It must also be remembered by those who are already very impatient with the continued silence on the main Eastern Front, that that silence does not represent any danger whatsoever for the Allied offensive because the Germans, with the Soviet trip-hammer poised over their heads, cannot possibly shift a single division from east to west. All three Allied operations—Normandy, Karelia, and Italy—are preliminary. They will grow into campaigns for the Rhine, the Vistula, and the Danube. Tossing Procope, the Finnish ambassador, out of Washington, is a most welcome move which would have even greater value if it were followed by a complete severance of relations. Representative Knutson and a good many Republicans, as

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well as the McCormick-Patterson-Hearst newspapers, are preparing to blast the State Department for telling the truth about the Finnish legation here—that its activities are "inimical to the interests of the United States." Naturally the friends of Mannerheim here would like to convert Finland into a *cause celebre* whereby our relations with the Soviet Union would be damaged and the White House foreign policy subverted. The Helsinki government has counted on a negotiated peace to save itself, but the game is quickly coming to a close. As the New York *Herald Tribune* puts it, "The fall of Finland will mean that just so many fewer American and British as well as Russian lives will have to be paid for victory."

Tremendous things have occurred in the Pacific. Our B-29 super-Fortresses have blasted Japan itself. With the introduction of this "global" weapon not a single speck of Japan's empire is now safe from our bombs. This is a truly amazing picture: the Germans produce a gadget in the form of a robot flying bomb while we produce the super-Fortress which is one of the finest achievements of the human brain.

Sea-land action in the Pacific centers around Saipan where our troops landed after a four-day preparation by air and sea. Our task forces have bombarded Japanese bases in the Bonin Islands, only 650 miles south of Tokio. Another task force has bombarded the Kuriles. General MacArthur's fliers, in diversionary operations, have been plastering the Japanese air bases in the Carolines, keeping the enemy pilots busy while we were landing on Saipan. We have won an airfield on Biak and are reported to have already used it against the last enemy bases in western New Guinea. Thus the Japanese defense arc has been, for all practical purposes, pushed back in eighteen months from the Gilberts-Aleutians arc to the Timor-Bonin-Kurile arc, or about half way closer to Tokio. This is the best refutation of the vicious isolationist slander that the President is "neglecting" the war in the Pacific.

In northern Burma things look good too. Kamaing has been captured by the Chinese, who are also on the outskirts of Mogaung. We have also improved our positions in and around Myitkyina. Lungling on the old Burma road is being consolidated by the Chinese who have crossed the Shweli River for the first time in this war. On the Chinese main front the Japanese, while making some advances in Honan and Hunan, are still far from their goal, which is the securing of the Peiping-Canton railroad. While the impetus of the Japanese offensive seems to be slackening, much has still to be done in Chungking politically before the Japanese campaign can be stopped and reversed. Not even the mighty B-29s can substitute for the need for unity of all Chinese patriotic forces.

READERS' FORUM

Shameful Spectacle

TO NEW MASSES: Fascists act like fascists in the Nazi plot trial court room. More open fascist talk there than almost anywhere in America. On Wednesday I saw the most shameful spectacle there since Attorney Henry H. Klein distributed his "Impeach Roosevelt" pamphlet, charging the Commander-in-Chief with "murder" in the courtroom early in the trial. It's hard to believe what happened Wednesday, but here's the nasty stuff as I got it myself. I was copying a Bund anti-war "command" at a front table during an afternoon recess when I heard some shouting at the door thirty feet away. Arrived in time to see a visitor who had made a minor disturbance, being put out. Just as I got there Charles B. Hudson—"Poison Cup" Hudson of Omaha—one of the defendants, was crying, "That man has been following me." Hudson won his nickname when he snatched a cup of water from General Moseley at a Dies hearing with the cry that the water might "be poisoned."

Ira Chase Koehne, attorney for Mrs. Washburn, the woman who thumbed her nose at the courthouse the first day of the trial and gave the fascist salute on the courthouse steps, began shouting in his cracked voice: "That man," said Koehne, "is part of the Jewish secret service." An Army officer, a second lieutenant in khaki uniform, chided the old lawyer (Koehne is seventy-two) for this nonsense. "You shouldn't talk that way," he insisted.

Then Koehne began screaming. Yes, screaming, I mean. "You God-damned dirty kike; I'd like to strip your uniform off," were his words. The officer flushed, but kept his control. I waited for the Deputy US Marshal, who stood two feet away, to act. He didn't. Koehne went out for some air, came back ten minutes later to fight for his fascist clients again. They are Mrs. Washburn, Frank W. Clark, Mrs. Washburn's associate in the American Gentile Protection Association and Broenstrupp, alias Count Cherep Spidionovich, ex-attorney for Silver Shirt Pelley, and an old personal friend of Koehne's.

"God save the United States of America and this honorable court," says another marshal each moning as proceedings begin. I wish the marshal at the door had begun saving the court Wednesday by taking this vile anti-Semite and defamer of the United States Army uniform into custody.

Washington. ART SHIELDS.

The Teheran Agreements

TO NEW MASSES: I feel, as does Irwin Edelman, that your reply to his letter concerning the Teheran agreements [NEW MASSES, May 9 issue] is less than adequate. The questions raised by Mr. Edelman, while prompted by incorrect analysis of the forces involved, deserve serious answer. Admonitions to vacuum-clean our minds of obsolete formulae are useless unless accompanied by an explanation of why the formulae are obsolete and in what ways they do not apply to the new situation.

Teheran, and Marxist policy springing from Teheran, are epochal and constitute a radical departure from Marxist policy of the years before Teheran, as, indeed, the world conditions which make Teheran possible are a departure from pre-Teheran conditions; nevertheless, present conditions were implicit in the old situation and emerged dialectically from it. It is of extreme importance that we understand what has happened to our world and comprehend how we are to proceed now as forward-seeing citizens. This can come about only through the freest possible discussion, repeating the fundamentals to the point of tedium if necessary.

Mr. Edelman errs in the manner of many progressives when discussing Teheran. He fails to see that there is anything for capital in cooperating with progressive and anti-fascist forces. Therefore, he reasons, capital must have ulterior motives. Therefore Teheran is possibly a snare and a delusion.

Actually capital is not entangled in the dilemma of Mr. Edelman's thinking. The overwhelming support it has given to the prosecution of the war and to the implementing of the Teheran agreements demonstrates that it sees its way quite clearly: internationally, it has more to gain *financially* from cooperation, long-range planning, and peaceful division of markets than it has from the opposite course, which course has led it through many years of conspicuous failure and crisis culminating in the present war; nationally, it stands to gain *financially* by assuring full and stabilized employment, recognizing labor's right to organize, bargain collectively, and to be included in the councils of planning and production. That such a program also commands the support of working people goes almost without saying. Labor stands to gain *financially* by such a program. I deliberately underline the word "financial" to stress the fact that the proposed cooperation and unity in this country now and after the war is not based fundamentally on altruism or wishful thinking but on basic economic interest.

Mr. Edelman's second point of difficulty seems to be the fate of the European countries. He wishes to know if a country in which a majority of the people desire socialism can have it. NEW MASSES' reply gives him little help. The answer, I think, is quite clear. Any country in Europe or the rest of the world which contains a majority of people for socialism will have it. Such is not the case in the United States. The composition of the Czech government-in-exile, the French Committee of Liberation, the Yugoslav People's Front, the Greek people's movement, indicates that such is not the case in those countries. From a practical and useful standpoint the issue of socialism is not before those countries nor will sincere progressives raise it as an issue. This is not to say that Marxists everywhere will cease to work to convince everyone of the desirability of socialism. Quite the contrary. We have seen the future—and it works.

Berkeley, Cal. D. L.

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NORMAN CORWIN

By LEE LAWSON

Ask the average radio listener to name the outstanding radio writer-producer of America and nine chances out of ten the reply will be, "Norman Corwin." The main reason for such an answer should be obvious; for the past five years Corwin has been the most consistent producer of anti-fascist radio plays, and has written most of the scripts himself. Master of technique, he has combined the essential elements of entertainment-education to create memorable radio theater.

It is the purpose of this article to attempt to discover the "how" and "why" of Corwin's success in utilizing the complex medium of radio theater as a valuable weapon in the fight for freedom. It is, naturally, only from a study of Corwin's programs that such an analysis can be made. It is good that one need not rely on memory altogether; that is too frequently the case with radio programs once heard and never again thereafter. In this instance Henry Holt & Co. have issued two volumes of Corwin's work including his own notes and comments on each production.*

Corwin's credo is a simple, yet dynamic one: to use his talents in the interests of the people. Right now this means winning the war, abroad and at home. Every one of Corwin's serious radio dramas has stressed fundamental issues for which the war is being fought. His characters are real and what they have to say sounds like the things you hear in the subway, around dinner tables, at union meetings, or in Army barracks. And through all of his plays runs a theme of determined optimism that leaves the listener with a feeling of confidence in the future of society.

This confidence comes primarily from Corwin's great belief in the little people, or the "Common Man" of Vice President Wallace. The heroes and heroines of his programs are not the "supermen" or the "elite"; quite the contrary, they are usually very "unimportant" folk who just happen to make up the overwhelming majority of the world's population. In programs like "Cromer," the story of an English blitzed town or "The Long Name None Could Spell," a tribute to valiant Czechoslovakia, it is the "little guys" who make the play a living thing.

Listen to the Czechs speak:

"We were not theirs to give away
who gave us away,
Nor are we theirs to whom we have
been given.
We are the men of the republic.
We and our women are the long
name
and the fertile ground and the old
square
and the dancing
and the blue-eyed children and the
rest of it.
We are the sword and the hand is
ours and the blood is us.

A clear and consistent understanding of basic issues has been one of Corwin's greatest assets. Among the first major programs he produced is the now historic "Ballad for Americans" by LaTouche and Robinson. The "Ballad" was one of the first radio performances to feature a Negro, and it set the theme for the entire "Pursuit of Happiness" series which created a nationwide sensation. This understanding has run through most of Corwin's work, reaching particular brilliance in plays of his own like "They Fly Through the Air," which attacked bitterly the fascist bombing of open cities and the inhuman brutal-

* THIRTEEN BY CORWIN, $2.75; MORE BY CORWIN, $3.

Santayana Again

In a room in the convent of English sisters on the grounds of the old church of Santo Stefano Rotondo in Rome, Herbert L. Matthews, New York *Times* correspondent, met and talked with George Santayana, Spanish-born American philosopher who has lived in Italy since 1912 and who in recent years has become a best-seller in the United States. "I live in the eternal," Santayana told him. And in the eternal, such things as fascism, war, the Soviet Union, political upheavals in Italy are mere foam on an endless ocean, the small intrusions that swirl around but cannot disturb the shaded world of George Santayana. And so the philosopher, who had lived imperturbably through the cycles of democracy, fascism, and Nazism in Italy asked the newspaperman about Italy, fascism, Russia, and the war. He seemed, reports Matthews, "only mildly interested."

"There has been so much killing and suffering in the world's history," Santayana said. "It is always the same." And curiously, in those words, the eternal touched the ephemeral, the philosopher in his convent room echoed a brawling New York publisher. The words are different, but the thought can be found in the editorial which appears every other day in the *Daily News:* the one that tells you that these wars always have been, always will be, and this one isn't worth bothering about.

Fascism? Communism? "Doubtless there are good things in both, as well as bad things," Santayana said. And he descended from his ivory tower long enough to observe: "The trouble with applying fascism to Italy is that the people are undisciplined. They often make good fascists from eighteen to twenty-five, but after that they become individualists again. One can say that they are not on a high enough social level to become good fascists." Poor, benighted Italians, who are so vulgar as to love democracy and hate the "discipline" of castor oil and concentration camps and murder gangs and anti-Semitism!

For George Santayana philosophy has ceased to be what it was for Socrates and Aristotle and Spinoza and Locke and Hegel and Marx: the very soil of life. It has become an intellectual absinthe to be sipped by the few in order to forget the existence of the many. In a much-discussed review of Santayana's recent book of memoirs, *Persons and Places*, in the March 14 issue of New Masses, Joel Bradford described Santayana as "almost but not quite a mystic," "almost but not quite a snob," "almost but not quite anti-Semitic," a man who, though he had not trod the path of Ezra Pound to a conclusion, had nevertheless made his peace with fascism. The *Times* interview hardly refutes that judgment.

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ity of Vittorio Mussolini, and his contributions to the "This Is War" series which contained one of the clearest expositions of what we're fighting for ever broadcast. From "To the Young," which is a part of the series: a young British flier talks to an American fellow-soldier:

". . . Seems to me the world's shrunk a lot since we were kids—it's overnight from New York to London if you fly a ship as good as Jenny. We're not far apart any more. Not in miles or anything else. We're fighting the same scrap and it happens to be the nastiest fight of them all. The war of nerves and the vomit of appeasement, that's over now—there are no longer a dozen big powers in the world, there are only two, Good and Evil; and whatever a man's accent may be, whether it's cockney or Yorkshire or Brooklyn or Midwest or Russian or Chinese, he's fighting on one side, and that's *our* side, and—well, that man's a brother of mine and he can wear my shirt and borrow my gun!

"Bill, give it to 'em. See you in Berlin!"

In addition, outstanding programs produced by Corwin but written by others include "Dorie Miller," a tribute to the heroic Negro messman, and the beautifully moving "Lonesome Train" by Lampell and Robinson.

So far, this analysis has been devoted to the content of Corwin's broadcasts; now I'd like to delve into the "how"—his technique. Perhaps more than any other writer or producer, Corwin is a complete radio creator; master of practically all the component parts that go to make up a program. Writing, direction, sound effects, music, acting; Corwin participates in them all, because he knows that only through working knowledge of these important ingredients can he best convey the story he has to tell. And always he is aware of the special appeal radio makes; imagery created solely by sound. Corwin takes what would appear to be a handicap, limitation to one sense, and makes of it a magic brush with which he paints amazing pictures. An elaborate setting created by a sound effect, a mood by a few bars of music, a journey of thousands of miles by another sound; these are but a few of the simple uses of sound for background. Music, as a unifying medium to tie a series of scenes together or to accent a dramatic highlight, is of vital importance. In these fields Corwin works closely with specialists, readily acknowledging their contributions.

Corwin, not content to tell his story in prose, is a brilliant poet. Much of his best work has been done in this medium, perhaps because it, too, has so important an ear appeal. A couplet, a line of blank verse, or simple doggerel; Corwin's ability to put words together in rhythmic cadence is unsurpassed.

Not all of Corwin's programs have dealt with important topics, but even those which have not, have been executed with the unusual technique he has developed. Possessor of a quick and subtle sense of humor, he has produced several satires on radio and advertising which punctured some over-inflated egos. A few programs have been exceptional examples of how to teach subjects which are supposedly dull, like geography and astronomy. In "Daybreak" Corwin has written a prose poem that illumines the geographical world, and in "Good Heavens" he surrounds some important facts about the universe with some good humor.

One thing that interested me was the manner in which Corwin selected a theme and then developed it. When I met him shortly before writing this article, I asked that question and the answer was given in an illustration. Corwin talked of two scripts he had previously written: "Cromer" and "Tel Aviv." It occurred to him that he ought to do the story on another city, making it a radio "Three Cities." The question arose, "Which city?" With typical radio "bigness" Corwin thought of flying a crew to Mexico City and doing the story of that great center. This was immediately ruled out; there's a war on, remember? Then the thought came, "Why not a small American town?" But, Corwin has never lived in a small town; it would mean staying in one for some weeks at least to get material, and when you have to do a show every week that's out. At last, "Why not New York City?" A natural, not for one but several broadcasts. How to treat it, from what angle? Why not do the people, the many different peoples, who make New York the great city it is? Whitman once said, "It takes great people to make a great city." Take the different national groups who have lived in harmony for so long, put it to music. A great oratorio—that's New York City!

That's how a Corwin program was born. Whether it did the job Corwin wanted it to do those of you who heard it will judge. I think Corwin's thought process shows his instincts are healthy. He has done a fine job so far, and the Columbia Broadcasting System is to be commended for giving him the opportunity to continue using his talents in the interests of the people. The people, in turn, should let Corwin and CBS know what they think of his work and guide the direction his future programs will take. I, for one, feel that direction is certain as long as Corwin can write, as he did in a recent play, "Untitled." (A dead soldier speaks of the peace conference to come):

But let me tell you: From my acre of undisputed ground, I will be tuned
To clauses in the contract where the word Democracy appears
And how the Freedoms are inflected to a Negro's ear.
I shall listen for a phrase obliging little peoples of the earth:
For partisans and Jews and Puerto Ricans,
Chinese farmers, miners of tin ore beneath Bolivia;
I shall listen how the words go easy into Russian,
And the idiom's translated to the tongue of Spain.

AMERICAN ART IN MOSCOW

By MIKHAIL MAVRIN

Moscow (by cable).

THE Museum of Modern Western Art was opened May 1919, in an old gallery formerly occupied by the collection of Ivan Morozov, well-known patron of art. Later, pictures from the famous Shchukin collection were added. The Tretyakov Gallery transferred to this Museum the entire Western art collection of Sergei Tretyakov, brother of the gallery's founder, and several pictures from a private collection of Ilya Ostroukhov, former director of the gallery. As time went on the Museum collection was constantly supplemented by the works of contemporary Western painters.

In connection with the twenty-fifth anniversary of the gallery I paid a visit to director Vladimir Kalkov, who, before he accepted this appointment, had been the head of the Museum of Visual Arts in Moscow. He told me some interesting facts that gave me an idea of the scale and character of the museum's work. Though there are no more than six hundred canvasses here, the majority are masterpieces. There are 116 sculptures, 163 engravings, and lithographs, 2,145 posters and a large number of drawings. Artists from more than twenty countries are represented, among them American, English, French, Belgian, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, Scandinavian, and some from Baltic countries. There are thirty-eight pictures by Pablo Picasso, eight by Vincent Van Gogh, twenty-two by Paul Gauguin, twenty-one by Paul Cezanne, forty-two by Henri Matisse, seven by Edgar Degas, fourteen by Claude Monet, two by Eduard Manet, and fourteen sculptures by August S. Rodin. "Far from confining our work to the preservation of our heritage, we have greatly added to it," Director Malkov said and proceeded to give me a list of the most important new acquisitions. Among them

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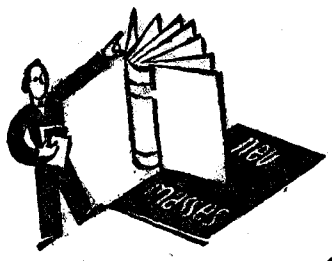

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were Van Gogh's "Portrait of a Young Girl," Maurice Vlaminck's "Landscape at Auvers," Maurice Utrillo's "Rue Montcenis Montmartre," Henri Le Fauconnier's "Signal," sculptures and drawings by Ossip Zadkine, drawings by Franz Masereel, Jean Meissonier, William Gropper, and Jacob Burck. In a room of engravings and lithographs organized during these years, the best masters of every country are represented. Malkov laid stress on the initiative shown by the Museum. For example it was the first to collect contemporary Western posters. Now the artistic and historical value of posters has been realized by other museums which have begun collecting them.

Hardly a year has passed without exhibitions at the Museum. Some years there were several; about ten exhibitions of art from the United States have been held. An American collection is represented by twenty-three artists and six sculptors among whom Malkov mentioned William Gropper, Fred Ellis, Louis Lozowick, Jacob Burck, Mary Cassat, James Whistler, Anton Refregier, Alexander Stavenitz, and sculptors Mitchell Fields, Adolph Wolf, and Minna Harkavy. He spoke of the artistic value of the collection of Negro sculptures in the Museum and, among other acquisitions, the work of the Latvian and Esthonian artists Libert Purvit, Svemps, Otto Sculms, Roman Sutt Adamson, Dukker Krims.

The war has made radical alterations in the circumstances under which the Museum's work is conducted. The staff's principal care has been directed towards preserving this valuable collection. All members have realized that they were responsible to the country and the world for the preservation of the art treasures entrusted to them. Malkov spoke with enthusiasm of the students, young artists, and actors who volunteered to help the small staff pack pictures for evacuation. They worked day and night. It was hard for the Museum workers and helpers, who had been among the Museum's constant visitors, to part with their favorite pictures. On July 15, 1941, the evacuation was complete so that when Moscow was bombed for the first time, none of the best pictures remained in the Museum.

The rest of the exhibits were transferred to a safe place protected by strong vaults and thick double walls. This proved an excellent shelter for the Museum staff during air raids. Incendiary bombs that fell during the summer and autumn of 1941 gave the Museum workers much anxiety. More than thirty incendiaries fell on the roof and were extinguished by amateur firemen in one night. In October a demolition bomb struck the roof, smashed the abutment of the massive beams, but didn't penetrate the building. Most of the damage was done to the ceiling of the central room where Maurice Denis Panneau had hung before the evacuation. The upper part of the windows were smashed and the ceiling mouldings shattered. Ceilings in other rooms also suffered from the explosion.

"You must not think that when we evacuated our basic material, our work necessarily ceased," the director said. "The task of making the Museum popular was transferred in the main to hospitals, but sometimes members of the staff lectured in the scientists' clubs and the art workers' clubs. In the first place we aimed at acquainting the audience with our allies' art. A good many lectures have been given in the work of contemporary American artists and also on the history of American art of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries." The public showed a keen interest in lectures on subjects like "Art in the United States during the struggle for independence," "Art in the United States in the nineteenth century," and "Contemporary art in the United States." A lecture on early American artists was organized in 1942.

The second year a large audience attended lectures on "Architecture in the USA" and "Survey of art in the USA." To illustrate "The face of German fascism," Museum lecturers used satirical drawings by Gropper, Ellis, Burck, and other American artists. Their work was demonstrated again in lectures on "Pictures of the Red Army by Soviet and foreign artists." Among short popular monographs published by the Museum there is one on architecture in the United States and one on Fred Ellis' work.

Despite wartime difficulties, scientific research is still going on intensively. A textbook on Western European art in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is being written for the use of students at colleges of art and the study of art in the USA is being continued. From time to time papers are read on contemporary painting in the USA and early American portraiture.

At the conclusion of the interview Director Malkov said, "I hope the time is not far off when we'll return to normal peacetime conditions of work and throw open the rooms with their famous masterpieces to the public. I don't doubt that after the war cultural relations between the USA and USSR will become still closer and we will then be enabled to extend the scope of our work in acquainting the Soviet public with the art of the great transoceanic democracy."

The American Story

THE RISE OF THE AMERICAN NATION, *by Francis Franklin. International Publishers. $2.00*

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or the principles of the Monroe doctrine, or the events that led to the Civil War. The same examination given to any representative section of the people would presumably show ignorance in the same or greater degree. Critics have attacked certain of the questions as unimportant or misleading. I think that a better selection might have been made, but I doubt that the results would have been any more flattering. Reactionaries in education have made the survey a springboard to argue for a return to learning by rote, but that is another matter. The *Times* did good service in revealing a truth of which every history teacher is painfully aware—that we Americans know almost nothing of our nation's background.

Does this mean that we lack interest? The crowded classrooms in American history in our schools of adult education say no. These students, many of them college graduates, come to us almost incredibly ignorant of history, but they are eager to learn, and as the story of America unfolds they become intensely absorbed. Why have they never learned before? What's wrong?

I THINK that for many decades our methods of teaching and of writing history have stood on a very shaky basis. History has been treated not as a science, but as a series of quite accidental occurrences, any one of which may have its explanation, but all of which fail to hang together, or to tell a consistent and comprehensible story. Most historians, indeed, deny that history is a science at all, that it has an inner logic, or that it follows discernible laws. And that is just the method that makes historical facts impossible to comprehend or remember. Facts the student must certainly have—all the hard facts, the names, the places, the succession of people and events, yes, even the dates. (I hear pained outcries, but I am going to insist that no one can grasp the "social significance" of facts that he does not really know.) But it is difficult to remember facts without apparent interconnection, without meaning, and without significance for today.

That brings me to *The Rise of the American Nation* by Francis Franklin, the story of America from 1789 to 1824. Mr. Franklin has avoided the jingoism that was until a generation ago the style of orthodox historical writing. He has avoided also the more recent method whereby history is told so "impartially" that a textbook is a mere dictionary. He has rejected as well the revolting and unscientific sectarianism of debunkers like W. E. Woodward. He has struck off on a new path. He has treated our history as the science it is, has thrown upon it the light of historical materialism. Here is no presentation of disconnected episodes, but the carefully organized story of America's growth in the crucial years in which she fought her enemies within and without and became an established and

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respected nation. We learn the facts and we learn the why. The puzzle pieces fall into place and the picture emerges.

One or two reviews—in the Springfield *Republican*, for example—complain that the book contains "nothing new." It is not, of course, a Ph.D. thesis, nor was it so intended. It presents no document never before brought to light. Here are the ordinary facts of our history, easily available to anyone who cares to hunt them up in the usual sources. But if the book contains nothing new, why have so many students reading this or that chapter exclaimed: "I never understood that before!" I challenge those who say there is nothing new in the book, to show me any other volume that weaves a clear pattern out of the tangled skein of our history in those years.

Especially illuminating are the pages on the relations between the Indians and the European settlers—the first intelligible explanation I have ever read. Other historians have contented themselves with either of two easy methods of disposing of the Indian wars. Some have sentimentally glorified the primitive Indian civilizations, others have crossed them off with chauvinist contempt. It has remained for Franklin to point out that "the cause for the slaughter on all the 'dark and bloody grounds' extending from Jamestown in 1607 . . . must be found in the imperial policy of Great Britain and, to a lesser degree, of France and Spain . . . the great powers sought to utilize and intensify all possible antagonisms for their imperial aims. Each power tried to use the Indian tribes as pawns for imperial expansion." As one of my own students remarked about the passage: "*This* makes sense!"

There are many other sections of the book whose originality lies in the simple fact that they "make sense." We have waited too long for a historian who makes sense of this period to take Franklin's work lightly. Outstanding is the discussion of our Constitution, treated not as a perfect and irreproachable achievement, or yet as a "plot" against the American people, but as a series of compromises, unavoidable at the time, among various classes and geographic sections, and in spite of all its Hamiltonian defects a Constitution that set up the most progressive government known up to 1789, the world's first great national democratic republic. There is also the thoroughly satisfying discussion of the War of 1812: neither the jingoes nor the debunkers have seen it for what it was—our second war for independence.

Yes, other historians have known the facts that Franklin relates. Other historians, had they been equally well equipped with theory, might have written this book. But they weren't, and they didn't. That is why Franklin's book is new, and original, and of incalculable importance.

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BREATHES there an American who can't find something closely identified with his way of living—his memories, too—in this gargantuan storehouse of tall tales, legends, traditions, ballads, and songs of the people of the United States? I doubt it. This is the nonpareil, the ring-tailed roarer and Salt River screamer of all folklore collections, and it'll probably be a long time before a worthy successor rises above the horizon. Dr. Botkin, with this one volume, has gone a long way toward dissipating the faint odor of disrepute with which some people associate the word "folklore." They think of ancient academicians fumbling among dusty manuscripts or—at their liveliest—sponsoring anemic morris dances on the green. This association, it goes without saying, has not been altogether justified, but it has persisted.

"Amerikans luv caustic things," observed Josh Billings, "they would prefer turpentine to colone water, if they had to drink either. So with the relish of humour; they must have it on the half-shell with cayenne. . . . An Amerikan luvs to laff, but he don't luv to make a bizziness of it; he works, eats, and hawhaws on a canter."

Dr. Botkin, shrewdly, has accepted this definition of the predominant American taste in humor. There are no subtle innuendoes—none of the slick meretriciousness of the radio gagster and the musical comedy jokester. The stories move fast, and end with a clean bang like Fourth of July firecrackers. This is the way they ought to be, for oral storytellers soon learn that their hearers are more restive than people who sit quietly perusing the printed page. They have to be held fast to the end. It is a high compliment to say that most of the stories here are the kind that bear *telling*—and have been told time and time again in many versions in many sections of our country. Anything that tells well almost always reads well.

It is interesting to note how the folk tale has adapted itself to our modern technology. The machine has not stifled the storyteller or drowned the sound of his voice. A lively section of industrial tall tales verifies this.

All the familiar legendary heroes and heroines of American folklore live on these pages. Paul Bunyan, John Henry, Kurnel Crockitt and his redoubtable wife, Stackolee, Jesse James, Belle Starr, Calamity Jane, Billy the Kid, Judge Roy Bean, Old Stormalong, Pecos Bill. There are many others. Some of them had an actual, breathing existence—were mortal. Their projections after their literal deaths are something else. Others grew to full dimensions by being rolled over and over in many

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minds, and in the end the real and imaginary characters are almost indistinguishable.

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JOHN NORCROSS.

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At the same time, the authors have not sacrificed soundness and scholarship for brevity. Mr. Lattimore has long been recognized as a leading authority on China's "inner Asian frontiers"; and here he dwells at some length on the relations between the land-mass of China proper and such borderlands as Manchuria, Mongolia, Sinkiang, and Tibet. With the opening of the Chinese West as a result of the Japanese occupation of China's important coastal areas, these inland frontiers have assumed new significance for the future of Asia.

Similarly, when they discuss the nineteenth-century penetration of China by the Western powers and the role of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in laying the foundations of modern China, the Lattimores bring a fresh and wholesome approach to these questions.

It is only when they turn to contemporary China that they fail to maintain the same high level. When so much evidence has piled up that the Chinese war effort and popular will to resist are being seriously hampered by the anti-democratic practices of the Kuomintang party in power, it is surprising that the Lattimores are uncritical in their analysis of the present regime. They admit that the Kuomintang is a "monopoly party" but then proceed to gloss over such

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decisive questions as agragian reform, the prospects of Chinese industrialization, and on the political field, the Kuomintang-Communist problem.

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Had the authors dealt less superficially with these issues they would have made a real contribution to American understanding of China's present internal crisis. As it is, their final chapter on contemporary China comes as a distinct let-down in an otherwise sympathetic and admirable summary of China's long history.

JOEL BERMAN.

The Red Army

(*Continued from page 10*)

summed that up when he said: "War is a calamity; victory is the end of war."

In conclusion let me repeat that the Soviet era has not only used, but enhanced the Russian military tradition by doing the things described in the beginning of this article. To these things we must add that the most glorious pages of Russian military history, those of 1941-44, could be written and *were* written because the Russian people who, as the Soviet national anthem says, forever cemented the indissoluble union of the Soviet Republics, shared their martial tradition with their non-Russian brothers and assimilated the latter's own military qualities, Marshal Stalin achieving this synthesis through vision, human understanding, knowledge of history, and dialectical thought.

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